

THE  
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR NOVEMBER, 1842.

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- 2. *Reports on the Training of Pauper Children*, 1841.
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  - 6. *The Normal Schools of the British and Foreign School Society. Printed for the Society.* 1842.
  - 7. *A Bill to continue the Poor Law Commission for a time to be limited, and for the further Amendment of the Laws relating to the Poor in England.* Ordered to be Printed 11th May, 1842.
  - 8. *Proposals for Establishing a Normal School for Unitarians.* 1842.

THE publications whose titles we have placed at the head of this article, bring before us, at a glance, the leading parties now engaged in promoting the instruction of the labouring classes of England. The Government, the Church, the Societies, the Poor Law Commissioners, the Scottish Presbyterians, and the English Unitarians, all are in the field, apparently partaking of one impulse, and professedly aiming at one object,—the improvement and extension of elementary education.

It is to the character and tendency of this movement, at present stimulated by the *patronage*, and hereafter to be controlled by the *power* of the State, that we wish seriously to direct the attention of our readers. In doing this, we shall have occasion briefly to notice the successive steps by which the country has

arrived at its present critical position in relation to National Education.

It will be recollected that in the year 1833, Lord Althorp, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed to parliament the first vote of 20,000*l.* in favour of elementary education. This sum was to be devoted exclusively to the erection of school-houses, and to be divided on equal terms between the two great societies. The proposition was favourably received by the house, and acted upon for six successive years. The various sums allotted by parliament were annually disbursed, under the direction of the Lords of the Treasury, in proportion to the amount raised by voluntary contribution, and the parties receiving assistance pledged themselves to submit 'to any audit of accounts which their lordships might direct, and to make such periodical reports respecting the state of their schools as might be called for.'

Here matters rested until the fourth of February 1839, when, by command of her Majesty, a letter was addressed by Lord John Russell to the Lord President of the Council, appointing his lordship, with four other of the Queen's servants, viz.—the Lord Privy Seal, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and the Master of the Mint, a board or committee for the consideration of all matters affecting the education of the people. An order in council directing the above-named Committee of Council to superintend the application of any sums voted by parliament for the purpose of promoting public education, was issued on the tenth of April of the same year, and on the thirteenth of the month, an extract from the minutes of the committee, developing the plans intended to be pursued, was laid upon the table of the house.

The storm excited by this ill-judged scheme, which it is generally understood emanated from Dr. Kay, will not soon be forgotten. The main feature of the plan was the establishment of Model and Normal schools, in which religious instruction was to be divided into *general* and *special*; the general religious instruction to be communicated by the schoolmaster, the special by clergymen and other licensed teachers. The religious instruction of the candidate teachers was 'to form an essential and prominent element of their studies; and no certificate was to be granted unless the authorized religious teacher had previously attested his confidence in the character, religious knowledge, and zeal of the candidate whose religious instruction he had superintended.' To each of these schools chaplains of the established church were to be appointed, and *in case a wish to that effect was expressed*, the *special* religious instruction was to be committed to the licensed minister of the religious persuasion of the candidate teacher, who



was to attend the school at stated periods, to assist and examine the pupil in his reading on religious subjects, and to afford him spiritual advice. The utter worthlessness of this provision as a protection against infringements on religious liberty has now been so thoroughly manifested in Union workhouses, that it is needless to designate it as it deserves. The plan satisfied no party, it abounded in errors, and was at length abandoned by its projectors.

Driven, most unwillingly, from the ground that had thus been occupied, the government fell back upon Lord Althorp's scheme, but of course modified to meet the emergency. It was agreed that a sum of 10,000*l.*, granted by parliament in 1835, for the establishment of Normal schools, and which had now lain for four years unappropriated, should be divided in equal proportions between the National Society, and the British and Foreign School Society; that a fresh grant of 30,000*l.*, together with the remainder of grants made by parliament in 1837 and 1838, then undisposed of, should be applied *chiefly*, as heretofore, in the erection of school-houses, but that a portion should be set apart for the purposes of inspection, and that the whole should be disbursed under the control of the Committee of Council; it being specially provided that no further grant should be made for the establishment of any school unless the right of inspection should be retained.

To this arrangement the committee of the British and Foreign School Society, although decidedly adverse to the constitution of the education committee, cheerfully assented. They had always recognised the importance of inspection; they had published their opinion that 'no inquiry could prove satisfactory which was not carried on by parties unconnected with the schools they were to visit and report upon;' and now, naturally anxious to avoid the appearance of inconsistency, blinded perhaps by a little political partiality, believing that the government was acting in good faith—that the inspectors would 'not interfere with the religious instruction, or discipline, or management of the schools'—that the inspection, in short, was to be a friendly and not an adverse one, they passed a resolution distinctly recognising 'the soundness of the principle that where public money is granted, inspection should be required;' and stated that 'in the event of their receiving aid from government, such inspection would be cheerfully allowed.'

We stated that the government plan for the establishment of a Normal school, under the direction of the State, failing to please any party, was finally abandoned. We ought rather to have said, *deferred*; for, on looking to the order in council of the

third of June, recommending as a substitute for this scheme, the division of the 10,000*l.* between the two societies, we find the following passage:—

‘The Committee (of Council on Education) are (still) of opinion that the most useful application of any sums voted by parliament, would consist in the employment of those moneys in the establishment of a Normal school under the direction of the State, and not placed under the management of a voluntary society. The committee, however, experience so much difficulty in reconciling conflicting views, respecting the provisions which they are desirous to make in furtherance of your Majesty’s wish, that the children and teachers instructed in this school should be duly trained in the principles of the Christian religion, while the rights of conscience should be respected, that it is not in the power of the committee to mature a plan for the accomplishment of this design without further consideration; and they therefore *postpone* taking any steps for this purpose until greater concurrence of opinion is found to prevail.’

The subsequent measures of the education committee, up to the period of the retirement of the whigs from office, were all in accordance with this avowal, that State education was *postponed*, rather than abandoned. Dr. Kay was continued in office as secretary to the Committee of Council on Education, and left to work out his own plans as far as circumstances would admit. A Normal school established at Battersea, under his own direction, and mainly at his own cost, although unrecognised by government, occupied, in point of fact, the place of the intended State school, and became the model into accordance with which other schools were, if possible, to be brought. The Rev. John Allen was appointed inspector of National schools, and Mr. Seymour Tremenheere, inspector of British schools; and it was hoped and expected that by the influence which these gentlemen might be expected to exert over the local committees whose schools they visited, by the inducements they would in course of time be able to hold out, opposition would be lulled, conformity to the desired system be secured, and the way be gradually made plain for the establishment of a centralized *State over Church* system of education.

But the National Society rebelled. Its committee absolutely refused to accept any government aid on the proposed terms, and after a brief but spirited struggle, obtained the following order in council, fully securing to themselves, through the heads of the church, adequate control over the inspection of National schools.

*At the Court at Buckingham Palace the tenth of August, 1840, present, the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.*

Whereas there was this day read at the Board, a Report from the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education, dated the fifteenth of July ultimo, in the words following, viz.:—

‘ We, the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education, beg leave humbly to recommend to your Majesty that the following arrangements be made for the inspection of such schools as are in connexion with the National School Society, or with the Church of England.

1. ‘ That before we recommend to your Majesty any person to be appointed to inspect schools receiving aid from the public, the promoters of which state themselves to be in connexion with the National Society, or the Church of England, we should be authorized to consult the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, each with regard to his own province, and that the archbishops should be at liberty to suggest to us any person or persons for the office of inspector, and that without their concurrence, we should recommend no person to your Majesty for such appointment.

‘ We further beg leave to recommend to your Majesty, that if either of the archbishops should, at any time, with regard to his own province, withdraw his concurrence in our recommendation of such appointment, your Majesty would be graciously pleased to permit us to advise your Majesty to issue your order in council, revoking the appointment of the said inspector, and making an appointment in lieu thereof.

‘ We further beg leave humbly to recommend to your Majesty to direct that such portions of the instructions to these inspectors as relate to religious teaching, shall be framed by the archbishops, and form part of the general instructions issued by us to the inspectors of such schools, and that the general instructions shall be communicated to the archbishops before they are finally sanctioned by us.

‘ We are further of opinion that each of the said inspectors, at the same time that he presents any report relating to such schools to the committee of the Privy Council, should be directed to transmit a duplicate thereof to the archbishop of the province, and should also send a copy to the bishop of the diocese in which the school is situate, for his information.

‘ We are further of opinion that the grants of money which we may recommend to your Majesty, should be in proportion to the number of children educated, and the amount of money raised by private contribution, with the power of making exceptions in certain cases, the grounds of which will be stated in the annual returns to parliament.’

Her Majesty having taken the said Report into consideration, was pleased, by and with the advice of Her Privy Council, to approve thereof, and the Lord President of the Council is to take the necessary steps herein accordingly.

(Signed)

G. C. GREVILLE.



The British and Foreign School Society, thus isolated, was left to cope alone with the State educationists. The whigs were indeed in power, and the Committee of Council, *as individuals*, were the old friends and patrons of the society; but the tenure by which they held office was slight and uncertain, while the relative position of the society was seriously and permanently changed. Inspection had now become a totally different thing from what it was when originally proposed by the government and approved by the society. *Then*, it was to be the inspection of an independent public servant, visiting alike all schools receiving aid from government, and reporting, without fear or favour, honestly upon them all. *Now*, it had assumed the character of an unfair, partial, and mischievous visitation. *Then*, the schools of the British and Foreign School Society were to be examined in common with those of the National Society; both were to be inspected 'in order to secure a conformity to the regulations and discipline established in the several schools;' errors were to be pointed out with kindness; improvements were from time to time to be suggested; no interference, under any pretext, was to be allowed with the religious instruction, or discipline, or management of the schools. *Now*, the deficiencies of National schools were to be carefully concealed; those of British schools to be unsparingly exposed. *The former* were to be inspected by one supposed to be a friend, his reports to be controlled by the bishop, his retention of office to depend on his obedience. *The latter* were to be visited (we will say it openly), by an avowed foe;\* his reports to be published under the direction of an individual, (we allude of course to Dr. Kay) pledged to another system, anxious to see these very schools superseded by others formed on the model of his own, and avowing his conviction that the existence of the two societies was the insuperable hindrance to the permanent establishment of a centralized church,—or, as we have already more correctly designated it, *State over Church* system of National education.

Such was the position of the British and Foreign School Society previously to the retirement of the whigs, and such it is

\* The application of this phrase to Mr. Seymour Tremenheere may appear to some uncandid. But it is not so. We are informed, on unquestionable authority, that in visiting British schools, Mr. Tremenheere has invariably depreciated the system adopted by the society—that of imparting instruction by means of monitors; while his commendations have generally been bestowed in exact proportion to the extent to which the teacher of the school visited has been disposed to deviate from the plans adopted at the Borough Road, and to admit those recommended at Battersea and Norwood. The bearing of this course on the general interests of schools sustained by voluntary contributions we shall have occasion hereafter to notice.

at this day. What steps the committee of that society may have thought it right to take in order to relieve themselves from the difficulty in which they have thus been placed by their own friends, is a matter with which, as nothing has been published, the public are unacquainted. We simply vouch for the fact, that the society is yet unprotected; and viewing the institution, as we do, with high regard; esteeming it to be a bulwark of religious liberty, and a breakwater to the high tide of intolerance, which seems now to have set in upon us, we feel no ordinary solicitude that it should speedily occupy a place, in which, with freedom and security, it may pursue the great purposes for which it has hitherto been so nobly sustained.

The first and main object to be secured, without which, indeed, all others would be little worth, is the thorough independence of its new and magnificent Normal school. We believe we are not revealing secrets when we say that on this very point, the committee are at the present moment at issue with the government. The sum of 5000*l.*, to which we have already referred as having been set apart in 1835, and allotted in 1839, was, we understand, subsequently paid over to the treasurer of the British and Foreign School Society, with a stipulation that, if within the term of three years from the date of payment, the trust deed of the Normal school should not be executed upon conditions to be approved of by the Committee of Council, the amount should be returned to the government. A personal bond to this effect, given by certain members of the committee, secures the re-payment in case of need. The question at issue between the society and the government involves the retention or repayment of this sum.

In justice to the present administration, it should here be distinctly stated that they have laid down no new condition, they ask nothing more than their predecessors demanded; they simply require the fulfilment of the terms acceded to by the committee of the British and Foreign School Society, when the 5000*l.* was offered,—namely, the admission of the government inspector. We may further state, and we have great pleasure in doing it, that in the various interviews which, in consequence of this and other difficulties, Lord Wharncliffe has had with deputations from the British and Foreign School Society, his lordship has manifested a degree of candour and straightforwardness highly characteristic of him, we believe, as a man, and eminently calculated to win the good opinion of all who can estimate the worth of some of the best points in the old English character.

Why then, it may be said, should the committee of the British and Foreign School Society object to the insertion of the required clause, that the school ‘shall be at all times open to the inspec-



tion of the government inspector or inspectors for the time being? They told us in 1839 that, 'in their opinion, no inquiry could prove satisfactory which was not carried on by parties unconnected with the societies whose schools they were to visit and report upon.' Why then should they refuse, in 1842, to submit to the very investigation they so anxiously courted only three years ago?

We reply, and we believe we express the views of the committee, 'inspection is not objected to, it is still approved of, still courted.' But circumstances, originating as we have already seen, not with the society, but with the government, have entirely altered the position of the institution. The aspect of the whole question is changed. Security that the inspection will not be abused is now essential to safety. The inspection required is an inspection *in perpetuity*; it is to be secured by a trust deed legally enrolled, and is, therefore, unalterable; it is to extend, not only over the particular building, erected at an expense of 20,000*l.*, towards which the 5000*l.*, has been granted, but over all the property of the institution, for it meddles with everything. It involves a species of moral control, not only over present possessions, but over reversionary property, over everything that at any time may fall into the hands of the society; for all is to be exposed to the scrutiny of the inspector, and in relation to all, criticisms the most arbitrary, statements the most injurious, opinions offered with or without evidence, may, if any adequate object should appear to require it, be published by authority, and be circulated at the public expense in every part of the empire.

We have said all this *might* be done; we will now go a little further, and say, all this *has been done* in relation to another institution, and under circumstances which may well afford to the British and Foreign School Society, salutary warning.

The Glasgow Normal seminary has been, for some years past, known as a school of some celebrity, established at vast expense and labour by Mr. David Stow, a warm-hearted and zealous friend to the education of the people. Of the merits of this seminary we shall not speak. With some excellent features, we always thought it, on the whole, decidedly inferior to the Normal school of the British and Foreign School Society. Such, however, was not the opinion of Dr. Kay and the promoters of the Battersea school. On the contrary, they exalted it far above its competitors, and received their first teachers from its Model school. Alas, how transitory at the best are official smiles! This seminary, established on comprehensive principles and open to all classes of the community, obtained aid from government on condition of inspection. The report of the inspector regarding it has recently been published among other minutes of the Committee of Council, and from this official document we shall make



a few extracts, *first* to shew what is understood by government to be included under the term 'inspection;' and *secondly*, to exhibit the way in which such inspection might be made to work out the ruin of a voluntary society, if such a result were desired. These quotations, it will be seen, relate mainly to the plans pursued in training teachers.

1. 'Although the course of instruction to which their attention is directed while students in the seminary, embraces many important and interesting branches of knowledge, an acquaintance with which it is extremely desirable that every teacher should possess, yet *it seems to me to have a tendency to render their instructions as teachers superficial and desultory.*'—p. 417.

2. 'Their labours in the model school, although most nearly resembling the employment in which the greater part of their time, as teachers of schools of their own, must be spent, and therefore apparently deserving special attention, *were not characterized by even an ordinary amount of vigour*, and in every respect contrasted most unfavourably with the animation and energy that distinguished this part of the training of the young men attending the General Assembly's Normal School at Edinburgh.'—p. 419.

3. 'Upon the whole, and speaking generally, my opinion of the young men in respect of literary acquirement is, that while they may be found to possess a considerable amount of general knowledge, their acquaintance with the more strictly technical branches of instruction will be found both loose and limited.'—p. 419.

4. 'Although I cannot speak from personal observation, and cannot adduce the testimony of any one to corroborate the statement, I have considerable confidence in affirming that these young men, after having completed their course of training in the seminary, and after having been intrusted with the organization and management of a promiscuous school, will feel very considerable difficulty in performing satisfactorily most of their duties.'—p. 420.

The above will suffice to show how completely the reputation of a school is placed at the mercy of the inspector.

Soon after the publication of this report, the Glasgow school was transferred to the Church of Scotland, and the committee of the General Assembly now receive 500*l.* a year towards its support. Let us not, however, be misunderstood. We do not say that the report, from which we have taken these extracts, was drawn up with any malicious intent, that the object was to destroy the reputation of the school, and to alienate its subscribers, *in order that it might fall into the lap of the church.* The high character of Mr. Gibson forbids such a supposition. We are simply maintaining that this power of publishing individual opinions under the authority of government, and at the expense of the public, is a very different thing from inspection with a

view to improvement ; that it is a power far too great, and too liable to abuse, to be entrusted to any man, however well qualified he might be for the task ; but that when placed in the hands of a mere amateur, inflated by his own schemes and theories, whether he be a clergyman, a doctor of medicine, or a barrister-at-law, it becomes both dangerous and ridiculous ; it partakes at once of the character of a tyranny and an absurdity. It is obvious that no model school could long resist the deadly influence of documents of this kind, if got up to injure or destroy. It would be insanity to believe that the committee of the British and Foreign School Society will voluntarily expose the institution to such a risk. Yet this is *the one thing* required of them.

All *other* Normal schools are to be specially protected. That of the National Society, by the order in council which we have already quoted. Those of the General Assembly, by Mr. Gibson, who is, in point of fact, the servant of the church. Battersea school, by Dr. Kay Shuttleworth himself, who very prudently trusts no inspector, but draws up the official report of his own proceedings. The British and Foreign School Society *alone*, as the price of aid, is to be placed in circumstances which will immediately endanger, and, we believe, ultimately ensure its destruction as a voluntary society. To suppose for a moment that the committee of this institution would so far betray the trust reposed in them by the friends of Scriptural education throughout the country, as to sell the society for such a miserable mess of pottage as the 5000*l.* in question would then become, is to insult their understandings, and to distrust their principles.

On what ground, consistent with common fairness, such a sacrifice is asked, we are at a loss to conceive. Why an order in council, similar to that possessed by the National Society, should be withheld from the British and Foreign School Society, if it be really intended that their schools should continue to receive any portion of the government grants, is to us inexplicable. We know it is pretended that the Committee of Council have yielded nothing to the National Society ; that their concessions have been made exclusively to the church as by law established. But this is a mere evasion, an unworthy quibble. Every one knows that the archbishops appeared in the matter simply as the representatives of the National Society. The trusts of that society provide for the education of the children in the principles of the established church. The heads of the church were, therefore, the only parties who could properly be entrusted with the control granted. The trusts of the British and Foreign School Society run, that the schools shall be conducted on the plan and principles of that society. With the committee of the society would, therefore, appropriately rest the equivalent guarantee against improper interference.

The necessity for some control over the publication of reports on *local* schools of a liberal character, when visited by government inspectors, has not yet been strongly felt, as very few have at present been noticed in the minutes of the committee. The little that has been said is, however, sufficiently contradictory to excite smiles, if not fears.

The Rev. John Allen visits the mining districts of Durham and Northumberland, with a view to obtain information on the state of education in these districts, and his estimate of British schools is comprised in the following paragraph:—

‘*As a class*, the masters of the Lancasterian schools appeared to aim at more in the instruction of their pupils than the masters of the parochial schools; they seemed more alive, more stirring. In two of these schools good maps were drawn by some of the pupils. I doubt, however, whether the education given in such schools has not rather the tendency to press some children forward, to rise out of their own sphere of life, than to elevate the condition of the mass.’

The Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel undertakes a similar mission in the great cotton districts, and his report on the same class of schools is as follows:—

‘The great majority of the patrons and conductors of the *National and Lancasterian* schools which I visited, only profess to teach the children reading, writing, and arithmetic. The knowledge of the English language, natural history, geography, physiology, and the history of their country, are all excluded subjects. Upon none of these could I examine the children generally, because their teachers professed the total ignorance of the children respecting them. If occasionally I heard that Liverpool was an island, that Lancashire was one of the great towns of England, and that Asia and America were chief countries of Europe, I was led to expect this; if I heard such grammatical inaccuracies as those contained in the following answers to questions put by me—‘Them as is good goes to heaven.’ ‘The men as was gazing up into heaven.’ ‘He drowned the whole world.’ These were mistakes which the teacher did not undertake to correct. But unhappily, many of the schools were very unsuccessful in teaching what they profess to teach. In several of those which I examined, many children of the highest classes were unable to read fluently, even in the New Testament; words were often mistaken, stops were misplaced, small words were omitted so as to destroy the sense, and many of the children were unable to spell even short and common words occurring in the lesson.

‘In some of the girls’ schools very few of the children could write, and the writing was very bad; while even in the boys’ schools, where more attention is paid to this important art, there were very few boys, and in very few schools, who had attained to a good running hand without the aid of lines. In several of the girls’ schools the children do



not learn arithmetic at all. The masters of the boys' schools always profess to teach it, but I found the boys sometimes exceedingly defective in their knowledge of even the earliest and simplest rules.'

We shall make no remark on this extraordinary statement. It is only comprehensible to us on the supposition, that the words, 'and Lancasterian,' were an after-thought, and inserted (without any very definite notion either of the justice or injustice involved) to prevent the appearance of invidiousness in condemning national schools only. Whatever be the explanation, Mr. Allen and Mr. Noel must compare notes another time before they venture to speak of Lancasterian or British schools as a class.

But we must leave alike the British and Foreign School Society and its interests, in order to notice other indications of the determination of government to establish, as soon as practicable, a centralized national system of education, on church principles, but under state control; and we think we find these,—

I. In the anxiety manifested to introduce into all schools aided by government, *uniform* methods of teaching.

II. In the endeavours which have been made to secure, if possible, a greater degree of control than is afforded by inspection and publication.

III. In the recent educational proceedings of the Poor Law Commissioners.

On each of these points we shall offer a few observations.

In reference to the first, the anxiety manifested to introduce into all schools one uniform system, we need only refer to the minutes of the Committee of Council. A supplementary minute respecting the mode of conducting applications for aid from the parliamentary grant, published in the last volume issued by the committee, contains the following paragraphs:—

1. 'Their lordships have been desirous that the arrangements of the desks, benches, and school apparatus, should be *consistent with the progress made in methods of teaching in the most approved schools.*'

2. 'The committee were by no means prepared to expect the immediate adoption of their plans throughout Great Britain. On the contrary, they knew the information thus diffused to be so intimately connected with the adoption of improvements in the method of instruction, that *they did not expect the general adoption of these plans to precede the general improvement of method which will result from the foundation of schools for the training of teachers, and the publication of improved lesson books, and of manuals of method.*'

3. 'In those cases in which the school committees *adopt in all respects* the amended plans of the committee, following as

closely as local circumstances will permit, the specifications, estimates, and forms of conveyance, *the committee will grant aid towards the erection of the master's house*, as well as the school-house.' Here a premium is directly offered on conformity to given plans.

In the same spirit are the suggestions of the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, which, being published by the Committee of Council, are, we presume, approved. Mr. Noel recommends:—

'1. That as there are numbers of children who are neither taught in schools, nor working in factories, there is a great want of school buildings, and the friends of education will need the help of government in erecting them.

'2. That as there is a general complaint of the difficulty of getting good masters, the government should institute training schools in various parts of the country, at which masters may be educated freely.

'3. That as the funds of many schools are so low as to prevent the school committees from allowing salaries adequate to retain the services of able men, and from employing assistant masters, the government may usefully afford small allowances to those masters, a certain number of whose scholars shall pass an examination satisfactory to a government inspector; all public elementary schools which are conducted on principles approved by the Committee of Council being at liberty to invite such inspection.

'4. That as no elementary school books have as yet appeared which are unobjectionable to all parties, the government might perhaps advantageously offer prizes for the best class books on various subjects, and furnish such class books at a cheap rate to the patrons and conductors of schools.

'5. That as many uneducated parents are unconcerned about the education of their children, it would perhaps serve the cause of education if the government should offer prizes for the best tracts on this subject adapted for general circulation among the parents, and should enable the friends of education to circulate them at a cheap rate through the country.

'6. That as the public are not well informed respecting popular education, just views might be widely diffused if the government should offer a prize or prizes for the best essay or essays upon this subject.'

We perfectly agree with the committee of the British and Foreign School Society in the opinion they have expressed in their last report, that 'the dark view Mr. Noel has taken of the state of instruction throughout the country, has led him, without adequate reasons, to recommend an amount of interference on the part of the government, which, to say the least of it, would soon place popular instruction altogether under state control.'

It is this determination to promote by all possible means a uniform method of teaching, *which shall not be monitorial*, that

renders the inspection of British schools by the government inspector unfair and dangerous. The schools of that society *are* monitorial. It is unnecessary for the inspector to examine them; they are 'condemned already.' All he can do is to record his conviction of their deficiencies, and to suggest the adoption of what he considers improved methods of teaching.

But here two questions arise;—*first*, Are the alterations suggested really improvements? *secondly*, Do they involve an amount of expense inconsistent with the maintenance of the schools as institutions supported by voluntary subscription?

To the first of these questions we can only reply that, having carefully read the minute on constructive methods of teaching reading and writing, having known something of the matter by experience, having visited many excellent continental schools in which these methods were adopted, and having sought the opinions of practical teachers who have studied them at Exeter Hall, we are forced to the conclusion that they have very little to recommend them.

The Phonic method of teaching reading is altogether unadapted to the English language. We believe its most zealous advocates now admit the attempt to introduce it to be a failure. Moliere (as the 'Times' newspaper some weeks ago humorously, yet accurately remarked) has described the method admirably:—

“ ‘Pour traiter,’ says the Maitre de Philosophie, in Moliere, ‘cette matière *en philosophe*, il faut *commencer, selon l'ordre des choses, par une exacte connoissance de la nature des lettres, de la différente manière de les prononcer toutes.* . . . .

“ ‘M. JOURDAIN.—J'entends tout cela.

“ ‘MAITRE DE PHILOSOPHIE.—La voix A se forme en ouvrant fort la bouche,—A.

“ ‘M. JOURDAIN.—A, A. Oui.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ ‘MAITRE DE PHILOSOPHIE.—La voix O se forme en rouvrant les mâchoires, et rapprochant les levres par les deux coins, le haut et le bas,—O.’

\* \* \* \* \*

“ ‘M. JOURDAIN.—O, O, O. Vous avez raison. *Ah! la belle chose que de savoir quelque chose!*’

The whole thing ‘done into English’ is purely absurd.

Mulhausen's method of teaching writing has some merit, but is quite unfit for an ordinary school. It will certainly never supersede existing plans.

Pestalozzi's arithmetic, the third great constructive engine of improvement, was in use twenty years ago at the Borough Road school; it passed from thence to the Kildare-street Society's



model school in Dublin, from whence it has now travelled back to London in the character of an imposing novelty.

The success which has attended Mr. Hullah's efforts to propagate Wilhem's method of teaching vocal music, has in some degree compensated for the failures in other departments to which we have alluded. Mr. Hullah's tact and energy, his pleasing manners, and above all, his power to interest and keep up the attention of his pupils, have rendered him 'a tower of strength' to the Committee of Council. The only objection which can be made to the proceedings of the committee on education in reference to him, is one which has already been urged with much ability in the Westminster Review—the creation of a monopoly.

'No one,' says the reviewer, 'could have blamed the Committee of Council, if, in patronizing Mr. Hullah they had shown an equal desire to support any other man of equal or greater ability, as, for instance, Mr. Mainzer, who, as a teacher of the working classes, has been far more successful than any other; but the committee not only did not do this; they did that which is perfectly inconsistent with all improvements in the art of teaching; they set about making proselytes to one particular method of instruction; they published their faith in Wilhem, and practically announced that no teachers of music but those who had been formed in his school were deserving of public encouragement or support.

'The immediate effects of the steps taken by the Committee of Council were to paralyze the exertions of the Society for the Encouragement of Vocal Music. The Committee of Council declined to give any money for the support of a singing school, which, we think, would have been a most legitimate application of their funds; but they assumed the superiority of Mr. Hullah's 'Manual,' and went out of their way to print it at government expense. The singing classes at Exeter Hall, had, therefore, to be supported by private subscriptions, and many of the subscribers to the above-mentioned society were applied to for pecuniary aid. Among them there were some who said, 'We will not subscribe to both, and we will support the new government institution rather than the society, because that which has government patronage is most likely to succeed.' Thus the means of the society diminished, while the efforts making to give *éclat* to the new institution prevented the society taking any effective steps to recruit its own funds, which, by withdrawing attention from Mr. Hullah, would have seemed like an ungenerous rivalry. At the same time, the announcement of a new method almost put a stop to the diffusion of a knowledge of music by other plans. Local educational committees wishing to introduce music in their schools, felt a desire to adopt that method, which, as they naturally supposed, possessed the greatest excellence, having received the highest possible sanction. The question was continually asked, 'Why don't you unite with government in propagating Wilhem's system?' to which the answer was one which

failed to be satisfactory to all parties,—viz., ‘ We were willing to assist in giving Wilhem’s method a fair trial, and offered to do so, but we cannot admit the inferiority of every other plan, without some evidence of the fact.’ ”

Yet this is what the government must do, if direct teaching is to be considered as its appropriate work. It must become *schoolmaster general* to the empire.

The giving up of the monitorial system, and the adoption of a different and more expensive agency is a still more serious question. Apart from all controversy as to the precise degree of merit which may attach to that system, the expense of obtaining a competent teacher for every sixty poor children is utterly out of the question in schools supported by voluntary contributions. Such a scheme could only be carried out by a Central Board, and at an enormous cost ; and even then we should consider the result as very dubious.

The friends of scriptural and comprehensive education should think of this, when the inspector urges change — ‘ charm he never so wisely.’ It is very easy to find defects in monitorial schools ; \* it is equally easy to suggest that the two hundred children, instead of being placed under one master, aided by monitors, should be divided into three large classes, and taught simultaneously. But this is a task which no one master can perform ; to attempt it is to disorganize his school. Assistant teachers must therefore be obtained. Voluntary subscriptions will not meet this emergency. Dependence is the result. In a little time government may be in a position to hail this dependence with satisfaction, and to offer the assistance required, either in money or in pupil-teachers. In either case the *quid pro quo* expected will be *submission* ; first, in relation to methods ; finally, with regard to principles. Only four years have passed away since a society, consisting almost entirely of liberals, and embracing eighteen influential members of parliament in its committee of management, thus expressed its views on the very subject now before us :—

‘ Not, then, in the hands of THE PEOPLE should be either the train-

\* It is much to be regretted that the ill-judged parsimony of local committees too frequently prevents the monitorial system from being properly carried out. In every good British school, monitors are, in one form or other, paid for their labour. The sum allowed by the committee may be a trifle, and it need not be much, but *something* should certainly be granted, were it only for the purpose of retaining for a time the services of one or two elder boys as aids to the master in carrying out vigorously the system he has adopted. This is a very different thing from breaking a school into sections, and placing these divisions under the care of pupil-teachers. The one course is essential to successful monitorial teaching ; the other is destructive of it.

ing or selection of public teachers; it is a task to which government alone is competent, and which, for the sake of the people itself, the government should boldly and largely assume.' 'If the people are allowed to choose their own teachers, 'the political partisan, *the religious fanatic*, the monied intriguer, will usually be the victor; the modest and virtuous scholar, of course, the vanquished.' 'To rescue education from such abuse, to rescue the people from the people's passion and folly, is to render a good and great service both to the people and to education. It is to interpose between their true and false, their temporary and permanent interest. To effect this, we require *external, compressing, and repressing* power, an intelligence fully adequate to comprehend the universal interest, a solicitude to provide impartially for it, and an energy and activity to carry such provision into execution. Is this to be found in the people,—in sections of the people,—in the people ignorant,—in the people excited? Where are we to look for it but to the government?' —*Wyse*.

'Whether the ideas entertained in this country, with regard to the liberty of the subject being infringed by such an obligation, would, *for the present*, permit a system of *compulsory* education to be adopted with advantage, may be doubtful. The manners of the people must, perhaps, precede the law. Still *the government may facilitate* the diffusion of education, and secure its being of a good quality, *by preventing individuals from acting as schoolmasters whose capacities have not been duly certified*.

'If compulsion is not to be used, it is only because compulsion is not in all cases the best means of obtaining this end. It is *just* to use it, *on the principles professed and acted on by all shades of German governments*; but in other countries, under other modifications, it *may not be expedient*. We hear the same plea every day,—this or that measure may be good, but not fitted for contemporary society,—for the national mind as it is. The answer to such an apology for indolence or timidity is surely very obvious;—change the national mind, make it other than it is, re-educate it, *make it capable of bearing your law*. It is not the laws which should bend to men, but men who should be gradually brought to bend to the laws.

'For *improvements* to be generally and simultaneously adopted, so that the whole of the next generation should have the full advantage of them, *they must be enforced, and this by the State*. There are, no doubt, evils attending this; as, for instance, the great powers which would be given to government; but if the government be responsible, can its power be too great?'—*First Publication of Central Society of Education*.

We seek in vain for evidence that a wiser or better state of public opinion has rendered doctrines of this character a whit less dangerous now than formerly.

The attempt recently made by the Poor Law Commissioners to establish district schools, under the authority of the Committee of Council, has, for the present, been defeated; but the provi-



sions of the bill sufficiently indicate the intentions of its framers.

After providing for parishes and unions within certain limits, being combined into school districts, and taking due care that they should be made liable for all needful expenses, the following clauses occur:—

‘ Clause XI. Provided always and be it enacted, that every such District Board shall appoint, with the consent of the bishop of the diocese, at least one chaplain of the established church, as one of the officers aforesaid, who shall be empowered to regulate and superintend the religious instruction of all the infant poor under the control of such District Board, except the children of persons who object to the liturgy and catechism of the established church, and whose parents or surviving parent, or in case of an orphan whose next of kin being of the same religious persuasion as the parents or last surviving parent may object to the child receiving any religious instruction according to the liturgy and catechism of the established church, in which case it shall be lawful for any licensed minister of the religious persuasion of the parents of such child to visit such child at times which shall be specified by the District Board, subject to the regulations of the said commissioners, for the purpose of instructing such child in the principles of his religion.

‘ Clause XIII. Provided always, and be it enacted, that all rules, orders, and regulations of the said commissioners, which relate to the instruction and training of infant poor in such district school, or to the plan of any building to be erected for such school, or which prescribe the qualification, duties, or salary of any officer to be appointed for such instruction and training in such district school, shall be made with the consent of her Majesty’s council for education, and every inspector of schools appointed, or to be hereafter appointed by her Majesty in council, shall at all times have access to any such district school for the purpose of examining the children, or of ascertaining the competence or fitness of any officer, and generally of inquiring into the method of instruction and training pursued therein, and in every case in which any such inspector shall report to the said committee of her Majesty’s council, that any person employed in the instruction or training of the infant poor in such district school is incompetent, or otherwise unfit for his situation, and if the said committee of her Majesty’s council shall signify to the said commissioners the fact of such incompetence or unfitness, then, and in such case, the said commissioners may accept the resignation of such person, or shall dismiss him from his office.’

These establishments were evidently intended to be the Normal schools of the Committee of Council. Inspection was to involve absolute control—the appointment and dismissal of all teachers and officers.

The same disposition to grasp at patronage, and to centralize

power, is manifested in the correspondence with the General Assembly's committee, although in this case also without success.

The following resolutions of the Committee of Council of December last, in reference to the Normal schools of the church of Scotland, plainly indicate this spirit :—

‘ That a rector be appointed to each establishment.

‘ 5. That before proceeding to the appointment of this rector, or of the head master of each of the several model schools, the Education Committee of the General Assembly shall confer with the Committee of Council on Education, communicating the names and testimonials of the candidates, and suggesting the names of the most eligible candidates, and that *the concurrence of the Committee of Council shall be necessary to any appointment.*

‘ 6. That the Committee of Council *may at any time withdraw* their concurrence in the appointment of the rector, or of any head master, who shall then cease to hold office in the school.’

The Assembly's Committee very naturally took alarm at this attempt to *control* the education they were to impart, and the government eventually saw it right to yield.

Battersea school, is, however, very politely placed at the disposal of the State.

‘ We should much rejoice,’ say Dr. Kay and Mr. Tuffnell, ‘ if the results of these preparatory steps towards the foundation of a training school were deemed sufficiently auspicious to warrant the confidence of the commission and the aid of government, so far as to procure for the future expenses of the school assistance from the public funds. In that case we feel that the government would be entitled to require that no tutor or professor should be appointed to the school without their approval, that their sanction should be necessary to the dismissal of any tutor or professor; and further, that *on the report of such inspectors, they should be entitled to proceed to remove any tutor or professor from his office.*’

After these plain declarations, it is utterly vain for Dr. Kay Shuttleworth to pretend that *his* ultimate design is anything short of the establishment of a centralized national system of education. We may safely add, it is but too plain that no voluntary society, unprotected by a specific order in council, can be safe in his hands.

During the next session of parliament, the whole question of national education will, in all probability, be again discussed. Lord Ashley has given notice of his intention to move an address to the Crown, praying ‘ that her Majesty will be graciously pleased to take into her instant and serious consideration the best means of diffusing the blessings of a moral and religious

education among the working classes of her people. This motion can scarcely fail to bring out the views and intentions of the government. It *may* lead to results the most momentous. Any great extension of the means of education at the present moment, must, almost of necessity, involve an equal extension of opinions, now too well known under the title of high church principles. Stanley Grove, the new training college of the National Society, is (if *The Record* may for once be believed) already in the hands of the Tractarians. The last report of the National Society indicates the influence of that party. The Rev. Edward Field (addressing the Bishop of Worcester on the state of parochial education in that diocese), in a document which is, generally speaking, able and enlightened, and well worthy of perusal, mentions as a source of anxiety and fear, the extension of Bible teaching in National schools; a point to which, he says, attention has in the towns been specially directed, *in consequence of the efforts of rival schools*, while the only remedy he can suggest for unauthorized instruction and all other evils is,—implicit resignation to the clergy,—the entire yielding up of all authority to them,—the virtual exclusion from school management, not of dissenters only, but of laymen and local committees altogether. Battersea is professedly a liberal school, but even there we find the pupils are required, among other things, to give Scripture proofs, first, ‘that the sacraments convey an inward and spiritual grace,’ and next, ‘that they are generally necessary to salvation.’ Apostolical succession and other figments of popery will doubtless follow in due time. But this is the chaplaincy system. This is what statesmen (whether whig or tory) mean when they speak of religious instruction. We fear it may be added, this is *all* they mean.

The British and Foreign School Society is the great practical antagonist of these notions. All its proceedings are based on the assumption that the Bible may be separated from human creeds,—religion from a clergy. Hence, it is unsectarian without being irreligious; liberal, without being latitudinarian. If, on the one hand, it puts aside the priest, on the other hand, it has no sympathy with the unsubdued pride of human reason. While it simply asks a Bible for a text-book, it demands a believer for a teacher. While it refuses to exclude any portion of divine truth, it separates Christianity from a sect, the Bible from a creed, the book from its interpretation.

‘It has been the policy of priests, and bigots, and persecutors, in all ages, to insist that no such distinction can be maintained. It has been the interest of sceptics and of statesmen to echo the assertion. We cannot but acknowledge that these men are wise in their generation;—



the subtlety of the serpent has not forsaken them. A fair and full recognition of the majesty of the Bible, and the right of private judgment, is as fatal to irreligion, as it is to priestcraft and superstition. 'Commit to an Atheist the erection of a Commonwealth, and he will assume without scruple the control of religion, because he thinks God a dream, and conscience a prejudice. Such a man, *owning no rights of conscience*, yet unable to cure his subjects of their religious propensities, will make provision for giving them indulgence according to his own ideas of what is pleasing and politic. He will, therefore, erect and set in motion a kind of religious pageant. Hence, two great authorities, Hall and Mackintosh, have pronounced a Hobbist to be the only consistent persecutor.'

'The safeguard of freedom is the Christian Scriptures. The great and golden rule for governors in relation to religion,—*Protect and let alone*, is a simple deduction from the Bible. A truth like this natural morality never taught; the human mind was incapable of such a conception,—it is as foreign to its nature as it is superior to its capacity. The offspring of pure and unadulterated Christianity, it cannot *exist* apart from its parent; it can only be developed in proportion as the Bible is separated from the creed, truth from a human system, religion from the science of theology.\*

The British and Foreign School Society is the *only* educational institution established on this basis. It is therefore the only institution in which a protestant dissenter can consistently prepare himself for the office of a public elementary teacher. It is the only institution which maintains, or even admits the right of Nonconformists to share in directing the education of the people. It is the only institution which provides a cheap and efficient course of daily instruction for their poorer members. It protects thousands from the temptation to buy knowledge for their children, at the expense of truth, honour, and conscience.

Hence the necessity for preserving intact the independence of the society. Whatever course, therefore, may be taken in reference to education, either by the church or the government, we hold it to be indispensable that this institution should be free and unfettered. We still trust that this object may be attained without the society being obliged to repay the 5000*l.* it has so well expended, or to endure the loss of future aid from government. But if it be otherwise,—if it be determined that this injustice shall be perpetrated,—if the society is to be practically excluded in future years from participation in parliamentary bounty, the course of the committee is still clear. They must trust to the righteousness of their cause, appeal to the justice and generosity of their countrymen, and according to the measure of aid they receive, regulate the extent of their operations.

\* National Education, the Question of Questions, by Henry Dunn.

In the meantime, the committees of local schools that have received aid from government *on condition of inspection*, must be on their guard in relation to any hints or suggestions that the inspector may throw out. They must keep the government to the letter of the bond, and while they afford all fitting information, must resolutely discountenance anything approaching to interference with the discipline or management of the school. Parties who, at the suggestion of the Committee of Council, have voluntarily invited the visits of the inspector, will of course hold themselves in readiness to withdraw the permission thus granted whenever such a step appears to be necessary for the maintenance of the common safety. *All* must unite heart and hand in presenting a firm and unbroken front against any inroad which may be attempted on the freedom of schools or societies established and sustained by voluntary subscription for the diffusion of knowledge on sound, scriptural, and comprehensive principles.

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Art. II. *Sermons on Various Subjects.* By Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D., Vicar of Leeds, Chaplain in Ordinary to Her Majesty, Prebendary of Lincoln. London.

WE much doubt whether the true genius of the Oxford dogmata, notwithstanding a long and searching discussion, be yet clearly and adequately comprehended. They cannot rank as a simple class of opinions. They are not to be judged by their claims to antiquity or novelty. They are no subtle, evasive, passionless abstractions. They represent a mighty influence. They are the signs and shadows of a deep and earnest life. They are the decretals of a fearful domination, a power hidden, but vigorous, unpretending but elated, affecting to be the subject of wrong, and with difficulty moved to self-defence, while its ambition really gloats in visions of universal conquest, and seeks its aggrandisement with an utter disregard, the most wanton indifference, to the nature of the means. The time has come when its due exposure must be no longer delayed. It has been hitherto treated with a most undeserved courtesy and forbearance. Sincerity would offer little reason for a respite of judgment, for what superstition cannot boast this quality? Nothing is more sincere than error and vice. But even in this attribute it is wanting. It is without heart. Its utmost warmth is that of a sickly sentimentalism. It vaunts of a taste for tenderness, awe, and mystery. Its disciples have become 'vain in their imagination.' Surely Christianity, did the propounders of these doctrines know what they mean, or did they mean what they say, might furnish such elements to a divine excess. In it there is a repletion of

the most exquisite sensibility, the most tremendous reverence, the most glorious marvel. Are they the essences of loveliness, and truth, and purity, after which they pant?—the forms of the lofty and venerable which they would seize?—high inspirations which they would make their own? The carved work of the sanctuary, dress and gesticulation, impressions on the most vulgar senses, indefinable generalities and irresoluble metaphors, are what they fondly desiderate. These are the staple of their devotion. More stained glass, more receding altar, more organ pedal, can render their piety quite transcendental. None more deceive, or are more deceived, by words. And it so happens that their gratuitous dictations become imposing by the undefended manner with which they are announced. Can such men, from their chairs and thrones, proclaim aught but the most scrupulously sifted propositions? But as they are unprotectedly advanced, must they not be self-evident? And then the spell-like *terms* of the school! We confine our present notice to two or three.

There has always been a method of speaking about the CHURCH which not only is capable of misconstruction, but positively tends to it. The whole church is the fellowship of all the faithful through the whole world. A particular church is the membership of particular persons who believe, and are found on some given locality. The greater or the less can be personified. This is rhetorical, and may be convenient. But it is not thereby made a multitudinous collective being. It has no personal consistence. It is, all this while, only a number of individual men and women. The personification was not the exclusive evil. It soon was deified. It was made a Saviour. It usurped the place of Christ. And thus we still hear of the ark of the church, rather than of salvation; of the prophetic office and the priestly keys of the church, rather than of the revealing spirit and sacerdotal atonement of the Redeemer; of the church as the door rather than of the Shepherd, who is the door of the sheep-fold; of the house rather than of Him who is a son over his own house. Reduce this compound, and what is the constituency? So many sinful, fallible, dying creatures on any portion of earth, or scattered abroad among its nations. Each unit confesses this. The multiplication of these units creates the church. And thus multiplied, the whole is suddenly made unlike its parts. In its integrity it is holy, separately it is sinful. Collectively it is the instructor, distributively it is in pupillage. In mass it is the judge, in detail it is dependent on adjudication. In concrete it is a mother, in decomposition we recognise only children. What an enormous fallacy is here! And yet this is the word which is



supposed to denote a something higher than the church proper, to indicate an existence somewhere independent of the church visible ; what it is none can define, where it is none can declare ; it is true of no numeral, of no analysis of figures, short of the sum ; then only beginning, and incapable of continuing, but in that total ; that which can be asserted of no atom and no combination, at no stage of the experiment, all transformed in a sudden and last result. They who can work out the idea must possess arithmetical powers and chymic affinities all their own.

Next to the influence of this term, stands in their vocabulary that of *succession*. It is thaumaturgic. We might have expected, from the manner in which it is maintained, that it would be uncoiled with some exactness. It was not an unnatural probability that historic tables would be adduced, and that the perfect lineage would have been traced out. For our own part, less might have served our conception. By continuance in the apostle's doctrine and rule, we content ourselves as their true descendants. Our notion requires not a knowledge of each step in the entail. Were there the chasm of centuries, we are unable to see any necessary loss of the inheritance. We always begin afresh with the scriptures of truth. We go forth as though none had gone forth before us. We feel as though the gates of Jerusalem let out every new embassy and mission of the gospel. It is all of the original appointment. The grace wells up in its own fountain, and we wait for it through no precarious channel, and in no penurious rill. We retrace no course of generations, be it coherent or broken ; we obey Christ, and from him only seek authority. This may be illustrated. If we believe, we are the children of faithful Abraham : his blessing comes upon us. We are his seed, and heirs, according to the promise. Is it indispensable, ere we can appropriate and realize this paternity and heritage, that we should establish a faultless pedigree ?—that there always has been, in every actual moment, this succession ? Is the title invalidated if there be not the ascertained series ? Is it not enough that any one man believes, without a thought of others, to constitute him the seed ? Who asks for more ? No hiatus vitiates his claim. In the same manner, with the strictest parity of argument, we maintain an independent succession of primitive appointment, in its constant renewal by no authority inferior to that which initiated it. Christian pastors *succeed*, they come after, they are later in their period of action, they carry on a work which they did not begin, they have entered into the labours of others, but the right so to do is derived immediately, not circuitously, not by trust, from the Lord of all. To say nothing of the arrogant assurance of this fabled power, its foul

transmission if true, its historic perversion when defended, we only pause to remark that no chimæra was ever more naked than this, and that none has exerted a more potent influence.

We must not pass over another word of extensive use in this terminology, *sacrament*. We need not inform our readers that it is entirely without any sanction of scripture; and that *sacramentum* cannot be the Latin correlate to the *μυστηριον* of the Greek. It is as nearly correct as the translation of Πασχα by Easter, and *ιεροσυλους* as robbers of churches; the people of Jerusalem being thus favoured with the orgies of the Sidonian Astaroth, and Paul and his companions in travel being thus absolved of all ecclesiastical pillage! The faculty of applying these sacraments is shut up in a particular order of men. The efficacy depends upon the administrators. The bishop of the New Testament *must* be blameless; in this case, there is no such necessity. The officer accomplishes his work by the unassisted virtue of his office. By the rite of baptism he justifies and regenerates the party. It is a profane incantation. No intrusion into the province of the 'God that justifieth,' of 'the Spirit that quickeneth,' can be more violently sacrilegious. But thus it unlocks the covenant, and men are deluded into the fiction of a Christian alliance.

We wish in these remarks very greatly to exclude all that affects the church of England. Our business is not, at present, with it. It is not our desire to investigate how far it has warranted, by its spirit and tone, this new, or this but revived, pretension. We should feel it ungenerous to institute comparisons of consistency between its members who reprobate or who foster it. It is, however, but just to affirm that it could scarcely have germinated from any other system. It may be a diseased substance, but there was a predisposition to its formation. It may be a little horn speaking great things and proud blasphemies, not a part of the head out of which it springs; but there must have been earlier callous processes and excrescences, however unsuspected. We revere those churchmen who yet are stout in their zeal for reformed doctrine, and cannot now taunt them for their false position. They mourn that the street of the great city which had fallen should be built again. All honour to them for the stand that they have made. This is the hour of their temptation. May they keep their garments white! May they not turn back in the day of battle!

We are not a little disgusted with the extenuations which are attempted by those who belong to the soundest sections of the Catholic church when speaking of this pest of our day. Well may the tracts, which are its vehicles, be dedicated to our times. What other times would have endured them? For a hundredth

part of their political treason, Atterbury was banished; for an infinitesimal approach to their idolatrous rite even the fair fame of Butler narrowly escaped. And are we to be wooed to compassion and implored to relenting, when this evil is to be uncowed? A heresy and a schism of the darkest kind? The most portentous eclipse of saving truth? The most wrenching evulsion from scriptural unity? What are its claims to lenity? There is no community which it would not rend. There is no church besides its own descriptive one which it would not discredit. It is a repulsion. It is a formalism. It is a thing of 'shreds and patches.' It is a creation of 'rotten parchment bonds.'

Nor let it be surmised that we disallow a hearing to it. We have waited for its reply. It is easy to tear and scatter on the winds the apologies it attempts. We turn ourselves from these to meet the softening glosses which we feel ashamed to say are invented by those who should have stood at the greatest distance, and have spoken with the utmost distinctness. It really mortifies us, it sickens us at heart, that mountebank dress, that sleek brow, that measured simper, that mincing whine, can pass for sanctity and call forth delight. The manly, the open, the generous, the free, are the qualities of Christianity; but they are to be sacrificed to this mannerism of pretty conceit and effeminate finesse. Strong, hardy, intellection, is considered vulgar and oppressive, while minikins, whose mind might be measured by the first joint of the forefinger, are caressed for the sweet inanities of which they are delivered. The style is deemed perfect which is feeble to insignificance, and exhausted of passion. Withal, every high and unearthly pretension is conceded to them; they are blessedly contrasted to every known form of worth and goodness; their activity can only be hallowed zeal, their bigotry can but be disinterested benevolence! We ask no crusade against them; we would not undervalue them; but we do admire that the proportion of character which the history of the world has united to prove artful, cunning, worming, sinister, selfish, shall be suddenly taken up as praiseworthy, and be quoted for applause! It is to forget all that we have learnt, that tyranny is always mild until it can be outrageous; that the lamb is ever made to mask the dragon; that the words which are smoother than butter, softer than oil, yet are drawn swords. Should any give the adherents of this system credit for the spirit of inquiry, they may be contrariwise assured that no argument which is employed for refutation is deemed worthy of thought or notice. This is their fraudulent tactic in all cases of rejoinder; a pretext, it may be a consciousness, of infallibility, forbids reply and criminales reasoning. Should any candidly imagine that the supporters of these sentiments would maintain



an honour of bearing in propagating them, they might soon be experimentally convinced that intrusion on privacy, sleight of language, corruption of friendship, licence of slander, are their best concerted arts. That which would be an impossible recourse, an inconceivable alternative, to the upright man, whatever his straits and temptations,—the injury of his worst foe's repute,—is the common demonstration, the first attack, of these remorseless sectaries. Should the meekness of this party be alleged in its favour, or at least in its vindication, they who are flattered by this fair shew in the flesh, need to be reminded that this is the most fixed aspect of persecution. She does not ramp, throwing cruelty into her countenance and violence into her mien; her eye is downcast, her voice gentle, her stroke constrained! The judges of the inquisition sat in grave and solemn calm; its familiars stole forth in quiet and hasteless procession. Should it be assumed that there must be a precise unity where there is the constant disclaimer of diversity, they who have become the dupes of such a cry have yet to learn, that the presence and the absence of every principle alike are covered with this type, and brooked for the sake of this coalition. A latitude of opinion is suffered, beneath which the most disquiet conscience may sleep. Should it be held that the ascetic and mortified air of these votaries proves their abandonment of all earthly indulgence, it is notorious that this is a matter of forms and times, a venal abstinence, a perfunctory vigil, requiring no change of the disposition, no discipline of the heart, preceded and followed by its best-beloved relaxation, the carnival not of a gala, but of the course of this world. Should it be contended that they are the true champions of spiritual religion, that they defend the independence of the church against the encroachments of secular power; let their apologists open their eyes to this double fact, how greedy they are of all state favour and dower, and how sullen they are only when the state will not suffer them to ride over it.

Men may not trouble themselves to observe, may think the danger light, but there is springing up among us a faction the most mischievous, both politically and religiously regarded. Its yearnings are all in behalf of conditions from which deliverance could only be obtained at the most costly price. Others think of such deliverance as an end worthy of every sacrifice and every commemoration. It is the Exodus from the most degrading bondage; it is kept by us in festival, it is inscribed on adamant, it lives in chronicle and song; we utter it from age to age; successive generations prolong the joy. But these scowl on the deliverance with disdain; reformation and revolution, the Briton's noblest words, his proudest remembrances, they cannot endure; they have no sympathy with the growth of knowledge and the

enlargement of liberty; they would recall the past with all its dotage, slavery, and fanaticism; they would crush the activities of public opinion; they would extinguish the lights of national intelligence; what they cannot prevent they grudge; even Christianity they would teach with much reserve. Though they do not absolutely refuse the Bible to the people, the truth of it must be believed on their canon, its interpretation must be controlled by their tradition, and its utility must depend upon their administration. Any party so thoroughly alien to all our free institutions, to all our historic monuments, to all our patriotic breathings, cannot be imagined; and they seek to revive all that our forefathers bled to exterminate. They would throw down the landmarks of our dear-bought freedom; like a barbarous horde they would sweep all before them. Martyrs they turn into oppressors, and oppressors into martyrs. These are their qualifications,—let us ask their requirements. Forsooth, the education of the people!—apt teachers! They would secure a rapid proficiency. Freeman would sink into serf, serf into slave: these would follow but the political and ecclesiastical merchandise of the souls of men!

Instead of demonstrating—a most easy task—how this shape of error originates in the leading dispositions of human nature, its avidity for some religion, and its enmity to the religion of grace and holiness; instead of shewing that no changes of the national religion could have transformed these leading dispositions; instead of tracing the progress of high-church opinion from Harley and Sacheverel to the Bangorian dispute, we begin with a very recent period. Within our own times, there had been a most extraordinary revival of evangelical doctrine in the English church. Its decided preachers of such doctrine were counted by thousands; it was working an upward way into the hierarchy; the testimony was borne before kings; the dry and jejune ethic which had lulled the fold, and in delineating which the shepherds had but talked in sleep, was well nigh exploded; a system of pastoral vigilance and popular organization was superinduced; things went well; they who altogether disliked the polity and anti-christian connexion of the establishment, saw a blessing upon the pious clergy and laity in it which even staggered that dislike. It was no uncommon perplexity with the nonconformists, how auspices so divinely rich could attend those who, however peculiar and contradistinguished from others, were responsible for all the sins of that deformed institution. If any looked on with holy joy, if any hailed with grateful pleasure each token of favour as it fell upon its altars, it was the protestant dissenter; he was firm to his principles, but he was not narrowed by them; they gave him a vantage ground and a dilated horizon; he employed

them to recognise the real congregation of the faithful; he was a lover of good men; he added to brotherly kindness charity. Where are these evangelical ministers now? Are there hundreds for the thousands? Other men may be false prophets, but these are *apostates*! We cannot conceive the dimensions of their guilt; we, hating ever moral censure, cannot hesitate to charge a very baseness on their motives. When fashion ceased to smile on them, the objects deserted the post of all that they had hitherto held great and sacred; many of them are at this moment the foremost teachers of priestly imposture; they deride their former standing; they speak penitentially of any love with which they once embraced a differing disciple; they confess the impiety of every general effort to promote the gospel with which they were intermixed. We own that we shudder when we think of these fallen ones! No more do they preach Christ crucified,—they mean by the awful phrase no atonement but a personal austerity. Justification by faith is no longer the unction and soul of their ministry,—with them it is a priestly absolution. Sanctification is to depend on occult virtues of material causes, forbidding the experience of the interior life. A certain parlance is retained; but it is a pseudo-evangelism. Men who have not known better may thus harangue with a comparative excusableness; but who will not tremble for them who formerly gave full meaning to this language; who cherished these as special and vital truths; who encountered the reproach of the cross; now crouching to the rising power, shrouding their heads in prevalent and flattering guise, rearguing every aim and purpose of their past lives? Miserable, most miserable, is the palinode, when we remember how near some of these grey-haired renegades must be to their account!

The machinery of this frightfully lapsed party has been a signal advantage, a trove treasure, to this new division; it has taken possession of it, and still wields it; the nomenclature is adopted far beyond any use of it that is commonly believed; the style of external manner, in its amiable and serious temper, is very generally assumed; the preaching address is emulated; though the stern and dictatorial occasionally is betrayed, it is habitually subdued; anathema perchance follows irritation, but it is politicly checked. These pervertors of the gospel have thus easily obtained a ready apparatus; it is the same trumpet, but it gives another sound; the course is undisturbed, but far different are they who run in it.

The means are varied, with a supple accommodation to place and season. To entice the unwary, nothing can be too cunningly managed. The staid, the regular, the rigid, all is moulded for the passing exhibition. Licensed school-room, prayer and class



meeting, tea parties, extemporaneous prayer and preaching, all that savoured of the despised conventicle, is pressed into its service: rout, levée, conversazione, are also rendered tributary. It is thoroughly elastic; it can fulsomely affect the cause of the poor; it speaks as though it envied the unlearned; it is filled with the pride of riches; it arrogates exclusive scholarship and lore; it will bend with any sycophancy for the favour of the crowd; it is essentially a thing of class and distinction.

The name of the author whose sermons now lie before us, has been so notably associated with this body of partizans, that we owe no apology to him for passages of remark which their conduct has extorted. In an unguarded hour, but certainly not without high generosity, he identified himself with No. 90 of the Oxford Tracts. Until then, he was only supposed to favour them. He was always pointed out by his denomination as the thorough Anglican-Catholic parish priest. He was applauded to the echo for bringing out the more abstract parts of the system, and making them operate on the unlettered and the rude. This volume, therefore, is of no slight interest as presenting the subsistence which can be given to more scholastic musings, the exoteric of mysteries which were as yet confined to cloister and cell. The mystic is compelled to explanation. The oracle must be put in common phrase. The hierophant stands beneath the portico of the temple. He is 'championed to the utterance.'

The subjects of the sermons are as follow:—I. She hath done what she could. II. On a Particular Providence. III. Predestination. IV. On Sacerdotal Benediction. V. Palace of the King of Kings. VI. The Doctrine of Holy Places. VII. Public Worship a Sacrifice. VIII. Christian Training. IX. On Watching. X. The Lord's Day. XI. Moderation of the Church of England. XII. The Song of the Angels. XIII. Jesus Christ the Righteous. XIV. The cross of Christ. XV. The Second Advent. XVI. Faith, Hope, Charity.

Those who might expect from the station and fame of this writer a classical grace of diction, purity, and selectness of figure, even chaste simplicity of language, await disappointment. Sometimes it shows a certain strength, but it is more of coarse vigour than happy compactness. It is uniformly careless in its structure, though not without occasional ambition of period and point. There is, moreover, a certain ex-cathedra rotundity; a brow-beating sternness; a convenient method of getting through a sentence without much aid or embarrassment from rhetoric. The best properties of the style are an evident earnestness and gravity; more properly this state of mind is transfused through it, and stamps a characteristic upon its whole complexion. Large sonorous expression is not wanting; latinized words frequently

recur, but chiefly such as are compounded without taste or authority ; it is ever and anon inflated and inelegant ; it rises without being sustained, it falls without rebound ; it is strangely harsh in its rhythm, and halting in its cadence. It is loosely diffuse, and seldom is redeemed by even a stroke of condensation. It is, nevertheless, rather versatile than habituated ; has a certain faculty of making a subject clear when its author is so minded, while it is not ill-adapted to the intellect which knows no adversary ; is ignorant of any contrary opinion, and fearlessly glorifies its own conclusion. It is little to complain of a reckless composition where the argument is wholly reckless.

The reader of this volume, if he knew nothing of the sect to which it belongs, would be instantly amazed at the partial, one-sided, view which it takes of every litigated principle. The author never pretended even collegiate habits : he has always been the active minister. He has lived the greater part of his course in large towns. He has been active in the lists of controversy. Yet it might seem that there never occurred to his mind a possible contrary to his judgments. His is the scale, and not the balance.

A casual and uninformed reader might be, on the other hand, somewhat pleasingly surprised at the orthodox parlance which pervades these discourses. There are the strongest disclaimers of human merit and strength,—fervid assertions of justification by faith, and even apostrophes to the cross. A little further perusal will convince him that this is too supplementary. There has been a previous groundwork of remark not merely suspicious, but even boldly corrupt. The author appears aware of the offence. He must parry the bursting indignation which he has provoked. He proceeds to a reparation, and the effect would be ludicrous were not the business too serious for lightness. For determined to make the amends most ample when he does begin, he violently thrusts an incongruous heap of doctrine into his peroration. If it deserve a place at all, it should have appeared in the design of the composition ; it should have flowed up freely from his heart ; it should have been delineated cautiously, but firmly : as it is often now presented, it wears the impression of a sedative to paradox and apology for blunder.

It will be only equitable to exhibit a short abstract of some of the leading and more prominent argument of these sermons, which were doubtless penned as a manifesto and epitome of a specific theology.

The first sermon in the book shall furnish a few specimens, especially of a certain inconsistent tone of statement, and of the hurried introduction of the gospel just in the way of a compensative settlement. We will draw the earliest citation from its

close. 'And then, oh my brethren, what joy will it be to us when the day, the awful day of judgment having come—that day when Satan our great accuser is standing near us, and is unfolding the volume to point out our offences by deed, and by word, and by thought, to detect unholiness in our holiest things; then, oh my brethren, what joy will it be to us to hear the Lord Jesus proclaiming, 'Let them alone, they have done *not* all that they ought to have done, *but* they have done what they could. My grace is sufficient for their sanctification! my merits for their salvation.' Now what is the gist of this divinity? That our duty and our ability respect different measures; that we may do our utmost, and yet fall short of our obligation! What moral philosophy—what scriptural responsibility is this! What prevents our discharge of duty but the want of disposition? What constitutes our sinfulness but that want? The language implies that the Great Master gathers where he had not sown. All that we require for Christ's service—all that he demands, is to do what we can. The defect is not properly of power, but of will. And then, too, how unworthily is the exclusive hope of the sinner, and the unperfected saint, inserted, not as a climax, but an after-thought—a suddenly adopted codicil! Nor is it clear what even thus is intended. Sanctification is strangely substituted for justification, the common mistake of the Romish church, and not an unlikely graft for the scion of the Anglican faction.

There is even in this primary discourse a mature development of the peculiarities by which 'this kind' is known. Its hatred of catholicity is thus confirmed, and by a shameless abuse of quoted inspiration. 'We are to remember that there is one body as well as one spirit, and we are to have regard to the unity of the body as well as to the unity of the spirit; and if we attempt, therefore, to promote God's glory in opposition to the principles of his universal church, or to the regulations of that particular branch of it under which his providence has placed us, it is to be feared that we are only self-seekers, self-pleasers, indulging merely an unsanctified enthusiasm. It is certain that we retard the object we profess to promote: instead of pleasing we displease God, for we displease him when we disobey him, and we disobey him, speaking to us by his providence, when we go out of our appointed sphere, and doing what St. Paul would *not* do, stretch ourselves beyond 'the measure of our line.'—p. 22. Is not this delectable in logic, in temper, in generosity? It is a very fair sample of every attempt of the author to reason, and to enforce himself by sacred text. Did not the church, which was at Jerusalem, 'go out of its appointed sphere,' when its members 'went everywhere preaching the word'? Did they not infringe 'the regulations of that particular branch under which Providence



had placed them,' when they 'preached the gospel in many villages of the Samaritans'? Did the primitive disciples recognise 'the measure of' any 'line' of a wretched partizanship but that which should 'reach' unto the world? If delicately they forbore to cross 'other men's labours,' was it from any question of their claims? Was it not from a sense of their worth, and an admiration of their efficiency?

We also find in this discourse a justification of that practice which we must deem neither innocent nor doubtful, bowing at the name of Jesus. 'To glorify their Saviour, they who would have anointed his head when on earth, will assume in his house the attitude of devotion, nor ever utter the name of his humanity, Jesus, without that reverence which the church enjoins,' &c. Now this usage, though urged in the canons of the establishment, is not in its rubric: its performance when the name of Jesus occurs in the Apostles' creed and in the Nicene, is only traditionary and capricious. Many excellent clergymen refrain from it. Should any defend it on scriptural sanction,—'That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow,' we need only remind them that our sex's inclination of the head cannot satisfy the letter of the rule, and that this is as figurative a requirement as looking to Christ, or kissing the Son. And why should this sound, this vocable, be preferred to every other which speak forth the conception of that Word who is God, that Redeemer who is mighty? Why not do homage to the Son of the Father in truth and love? to the High-priest of our profession? to Immanuel? These great and transcendent titles may be all enumerated, and yet not followed by a sign of reverence. The name is used, therefore, not for its idea, but as a sound. Now this carries it into the heart of idolatry. For these very men have repeatedly said that bowing to a painting or image of Christ, though it should be intended to terminate upon him, is painting or image worship. The optical impression is that which calls it forth. This is felt to be the essence of the crime. But here is a sound,—not the idea, for that is suggested by many titles which would equally deserve the obeisance,—and it is worshipped. In the one case, it is the optical impact; in the other, it is the auricular. It is in both a sensible sign, whether on eye or ear. If we have any fixed definition of idolatry, if there be such a thing,—though we would be loudest in the real adoration of the Saviour, nor from his 'Father's praise disjoin,'—this honouring of a word is a semalatria, a reserved, but a true, idolatry.

The sermon on predestination is likely to excite much curiosity, when propounded from such a quarter. It might have been supposed that the subject would be treated on its controversial merits—that the dissertation would adjudicate between rival

opinions. The preacher is innocent of the least impression that it has been variously understood. He proceeds to shew that the nations which have received Christianity among them are the elect; that the heathen are not the elect! It is an outward condition. 'Thus the Apostle addresses the church of the Thessalonians, good and bad commingled, as knowing their election of God.' (p. 58.) The noblest predestination allowed is to some future sphere, which they who have never heard of Christ, though the atonement *may* be applied to them, cannot attain. It is lamentable to see the stolid ignorance, or the shuffling evasiveness, of this discourse; it is not in fairness nor integrity—it is a painful mockery.

The succeeding sermon is on sacerdotal benediction. After much special pleading and logomachy, it resolves itself into the Jansenist confession. There is no absolution without contrition; its priestly pronouncement is useless, save as contrition exists; but where it exists, there is absolution. Why, then, should it be pronounced? This benediction is shewn to be inapplicable but to the son of peace; but in that peace he possesses it. There is, we admit, a declarative good. An *opus operatum* is perhaps implied in the argument of this author, but it is not avowed. Sacramental act and priestly remission are still left perfectly conditional. There is much fencing. 'I dare not, waits upon I would.'

The next was preached during the services connected with the consecration of the new parish church in Leeds. It is the most elaborate in the volume. It abounds in all the peculiarities of the writer and of his sect. Here we have the apostolical succession, though the election on the first vacancy in that college was set aside, and no election on the second was attempted. There is also a bungling endeavour to shew that the Christian church, with a few exceptions of detail, is equally a theocracy with the Jewish; forgetting that that terminated when Israel received an earthly king. They said, 'Nay, but a king shall reign over us, when the *Lord their God was their King.*' This was their treason. 'We have added unto all our sins this evil, to ask us a king.' Then was Jehovah's retributive abdication. The theocracy now presumed is but a hierarchy, competent to administer all, possessing in right abundance of grace, voiding every office of Messiah the Prince—not even a dependency on heaven, but an independent province! A theocracy indeed! They install any bishop, without so much as asking, concerning rival candidates,—shew whether of these two Thou hast chosen! They give the Holy Ghost at will! They claim the power of justifying and regenerating! They defer to the Head of the church in nothing! They are the *imperium*, without any *in im-*

*perio.* Political establishment, crown-appointed prelates, state-inducted clergymen, auction-emblazoned advowsons, and all this while a theocracy!

The sanguine author never wants a reason, nor is he ever deserted of hope. 'There is no failure of subjects,' says he, 'for under the rule of the heavenly Sovereign, countless thousands are daily born, even as many as, being born of water and of the Spirit, enter the kingdom of God, through the instrument of our King's appointment.'

Space does not allow us to examine some assertions, which were, perhaps, never exceeded in rashness and headlong violence. 'As the spiritual kingdom increases in numbers, and as its powers are more fully developed in any nation, it must become an object of jealousy to that country in which it exists.' We wholly deny it, unless it affects a secular competition—another political jurisdiction. 'The state is, of course, bound to protect itself.' Let it, against all evil doers; but it must then be a 'praise' to the spiritual Christian, for he 'doeth well.' 'One, then, of two things must, in course of time, follow: either the state must persecute the church—that is to say, it must seek, in self-defence, to put down a power within itself not amenable to the laws of its own polity, and to punish or drive away citizens prepared, though never to rebel, yet to disobey laws inconsistent with the superior laws of the spiritual kingdom, while yielding without a murmur to the penalties of disobedience; or else, on the other hand, the state must ally itself with the church, and, in greater or less degree, itself become blended with the kingdom of God.' We never understood to what extent the doctrine of self-defence might carry men before. Doubtless, then, Nebuchadnezzar only properly coerced his recusant subjects on the plains of Dura; or, had he adopted the religion of his captives, his twofold government would have been a theocracy. Not a word of blame falls from Dr. Hook on the state which thus persecutes; not a word of regret for the church which thus succumbs! In both suppositions he sees a perfect propriety.

Startling as are the novelties of the day, we constantly find something newer and newer still. What will be thought of this?—it is almost the last—can it be followed by any better? 'And this it is that gives to chanting its charm. They who have realized the idea which I have this day placed before you, desire, when doing their homage to their heavenly King, to approach him with *peculiar* services, with prayers offered in a *peculiar* tone—a tone not used on any *other* occasion—a tone which, while they pray, reminds them that they are discharging no ordinary duty—that with the very angels, and, as it appears from Isaiah, in the very manner of angels, they are doing their



homage.' Now, chanting is but singing; it is the musical expression, in common acceptance, of prose: the very same tune, with a little adaptation, goes as well with metre. There is nothing very peculiar in this. Should the Gregorian notes be intended, they are rarely used but in the Church of Rome. Our cathedral recitative must be meant; but it requires a school-master to teach it: it is to almost every person a laborious indoctrination. It is a most unhappy difficulty, if the set term of prayer. We had thought that all peculiar tone was contrary to taste. We have heard that of the meeting-house rather buffoonishly caricatured, we neither saying whether it does or does not exist. Who can spontaneously catch the strain? If the clergyman could not take up the key-note when intoned, is his church no more the house of prayer? Can that people, *having no ear*, offer no homage?

We cannot but refer to the tenth discourse, which is entitled 'the Lord's Day,' and founded on Coloss. ii. 16, 17. In this the well-known latitudinarian view of Romanism and its younger sister, touching the sanctity of the Christian sabbath, is most unequivocally betrayed. We little doubt that both would gladly commute it for Friday. They readily sap any authority which rests solely on revelation, that they may lift up the authority of the church. They endeavour, therefore, to inveigle the observer of the Christian day into an argumentative dilemma. They select this text, and hope to shew the abrogation of the sabbath of the ancient law. They then insist that there is no appointment of another. Thus they attempt to shut us up to the admission, that unless we receive the institute from them, we are left without one. Now, this is passing strange, when we remember that the Church of England, in its most solemn service, reads the whole decalogue as fully binding now, and that its children, on the enunciation of the fourth commandment, pray, 'Incline our hearts to keep this law.' How, then, can a churchman speak as follows?—'We contend that the fourth commandment, being a part of the ceremonial law, has been abrogated.' (p. 245.) It never was a part of the ceremonial law. Where is the proof of its abrogation? The aforesaid text is adduced. Now, it was from the beginning, ere Eber could be known. Sacrifice kept this sevenfold division. Noah reckoned the dates of the deluge in the same manner. Israel, while yet it had not stood before Sinai, regarded the primæval observance in its collection of the manna. That nation received the law as in nowise new: '*remember the sabbath day.*' It was universal in its import. All men needed rest. That record of creation was alike interesting to every inhabitant of earth. Opportunity and occasion must be most important to the exercise of social worship in every circum-

stance; it is a moral demand on man. The time is the positive part of the precept; the service, and the proportion of the time to the service, is the imprescriptible. The manner of reasoning upon it in the Pauline epistles, we think, proves nothing as to its repeal. The rule there inculcated of mutual forbearance towards those who eat or who eat not, who esteem one day more than another, or who esteemed it not, cannot respect anything further than the particular fasts or indulgences of Levitical periods. The word in the verse, on which the argument of the sermon now under our review is founded, is Σαββατων; not the sabbath day, but sabbaths or sabbath days. The festivals and convocations which did not fall on the seventh day were called sabbaths; thus the day of atonement was denominated: 'It shall be unto you a *sabbath* of rest: in the *ninth day* of the month at even, from even unto even, shall ye celebrate your sabbath.'—Levit. xxiii. 32. There must be an antitype to every figure. The Christian rest may correspond to the legal; or it may point to heaven. The argument is equally strong; the figure must be in force until so fulfilled. We have, on either shewing, the sabbath; the alteration in the time proves nothing against its inexorable validity; for, was it now altered for the first time? Was it not varied by a day in the wilderness? The tribes marched on the fifteenth day of the second month from Elim to Sin—on the seventh from that was the sabbath; then that day of their journey was the sabbath. This cannot be. Their sabbath was, too, a special remembrancer: God 'gave' it them; but it was given to all. Then was not this peculiar gift in a different form?—It was a sign betwixt Himself and them. Then must it not have been marked by some diversity?—They were commanded to keep it because of their deliverance from bondage. When a new character and reason were infused into it, would it not receive a new indication?—The probable inference is that the day was changed from the patriarchal notation, that it was carried back from our first day to our last of the week, and that the Lord's day is the original period of solemnization. The day is of no consequence to the moral rule; the interval and the employment being the same. But have we not the law for the occurrence of the sabbath?—The example of Christ, and of his apostles acting under him, is decisive. Having risen from the dead; He, greater than the temple, and Lord of the sabbath, kept this day in his awful apparition to the disciples. He, during the forty days of his earthly sojourn 'spake to them of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God.' They obeyed, and their acts are our ordinances. The first day is the appointed time for breaking bread, and for laying by in store the alms. The holy exile of Patmos still counted his days by that of the Lord. Man, as the creature, obeyed it from

the foundation of the world; the Hebrew had a yet stronger motive; the Christian, in its combination of all former reasons with that which consecrates it emphatically as the day which the Lord hath made, the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the grave,—possesses the noblest grounds of all. Yet all this is to be made light of, and thus quoth our preacher:—‘If in catholic countries upon the continent, in spite of the superstitions of foreign catholics, much to be lamented, there be more warmth, and if it be said that, although public amusements are encouraged in the evening, the churches are crowded in the morning, still we are to remember that in those countries every Friday is, by devout persons, as religiously observed as the Sunday; and until the catholics of England, the members of the English church, do likewise, we must protest against any relaxation of the laws which enforce the strict observance of the Lord’s day, even though that day, in England, appear to foreigners more like a fast than a festival, more like a Jewish sabbath than a Christian holiday. . . . We must not yield what we possess *until* we have secured an equivalent.’ We do not attempt to parse the sentence, we do not see quite clearly through the syntax, the members of it seeming rather conversative than agreed,—but we call on our readers to mark the drift! When it can be done, the calendar shall be restored, and the Lord’s day be seen taking its level with St. George’s day! When a compensation can be obtained in saintly anniversaries, then shall the Lord’s day be relaxed of the present unsightly strictness, no more offending by its veto of gaiety, but happily blending opera and ballet with its use!

Our observations have far outgrown our purpose. We shall leave the other discourses to the undirected opinions of our readers. We but dwell momentarily upon one, for the sake of illustrating what some have supposed a necessary difficulty in the way of those who symbolize with so many tenets, and with so much of the spirit, of Popery.—It is the XV., the Second Advent. If Rome be thus harmless, what becomes of the fearful predictions which are fulminated against it? That Wicked, the Man of Sin, Antichrist,—what mean these epithets which cauterize its brow? They are all misapplied! There is to arise a hero-monster, an infidel leader; his forty and two months are yet to begin, and all the tribulation which we had hoped was past is still to come!! We have not seen the persecuting power—the Antichrist!! This is the way in which Oxford exculpates the fierce and bloody dragonades of Rome, and loath, most loath, are we to behold this author doing suit and service in such a cause. How unhappy is its influence upon his own mind, the following lines will prove. Speaking of those who, like himself, are the uncompromising defenders of the English church, he



exclaims:—‘Theirs is no idle, childish dispute, as between sect and sect; theirs is no party advocacy of an establishment, which they know, as the nation apostatizes,—as in common with all the nations of the world it will do,—must sooner or later fall,’ &c. &c. How happy do we feel, unlike this melancholy seer, in thinking that though the conflict be not finished, it is pressing hourly to its victory! How secure we feel in our membership with a church which never can be in danger!

If we have spoken out, if we have not flattered what too many show themselves disposed to palliate, it is because we are persuaded that the evil is most appalling. Others may see and only consider it as an academic dispute; we have addressed ourselves to its study as a practical evil. We concern ourselves with it as a poison widely diffused and incessantly at work. Activity is not denied, but it cannot surely redeem a virus. There may be a strictness of manners in the room of former gaiety and dissipation; but there is no change for the better as to spiritual religion. The ministers of this community can the more effectually scoff at it, now that they have doffed their former garb and levity; now that the hunter, and the loungeur, and the fainéant, are not seen among them. The use of evangelical doctrine but subserves a cruel end. It is made a lure to blind suspicion, and draws but more surely into the toils. It is the item which carries the sum. It is the make-weight which determines the balance. We can honestly say that should the inquirer, roused by the sting of guilt and the forewarning of danger, go to any such ‘discreet and learned ministers of God’s word,’ he would be diverted from simple faith in Christ and importunate supplication for the Spirit. His wound would be healed slightly. He would be told of a church with whose corporate welfare he was henceforth bound up; of the necessity of looking from the operations of his own mind to the sacraments; of certain restrictions for a season, and not a uniform discipline; of the holiness of places rather than that of the heart. The souls of men, we scruple not to say, were in far less jeopardy when Christ was less named, and the gospel was more distantly approached. The jejune morality of Socrates and Epictetus did not deceive. The ceremonial administration had its fixed value; there was no pretence; there was no lying in wait, no sanctimony, no magic manipulation; all was clear, explicit, avowed. The awakened sinner sought another doctrine and another rest. Many are now beguiled. There are, nevertheless, manifestations of reaction: as cordially do we rejoice in these symptoms as though we called the English church our home. Were we its deadly enemies, we must have rejoiced at this waste of its health and power; we must have felt a large delight at this omen of its fall. Anything

so favourable to the cause of Protestant Dissent, considered as a party or a movement, could not have happened. It gives us a strength of moral contrast in our settled sentiments and inflexible principles which we cannot too highly estimate. But Protestant Dissent is, with us, no end; lighter than a feather, save as a helper to the truth; meaner than a straw, but as a quickening of the universal church. We sympathize with those who are in trammels, the more that we are free. We would even invite the flying or harassed children of Jerusalem, now in bondage, to our humble but quiet Pella, where there is no fear of man to bring a snare! But that sect which has already wrought so vast a mischief must still be watched. To save itself it will wear every mask, it will offer every atonement, it will utter every recantation; but it is remorseless, and it is insatiable. There never was a more grasping domination, a more vaulting ambition, a more reckless expedience. It is known by no principle, it is deducible to no rule. It is worthy of its parentage, but it is far more supple and temporizing. It can take any shape; it can accommodate any difficulty; it can issue any coin; it can venture any insinuation. Francis was not more meek; Loyola was not of more unbounded stomach; Dominic was not more unrelenting in his most cruel tortures; but Fable can only depict their character, they have no prototype besides:

‘Mille adde catenas:  
Effugiet tamen hæc sceleratus vincula Proteus.’\*

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- Art. III. 1. *The Mental and Moral Dignity of Woman.* By the Rev. B. Parsons. 12mo. pp. 355. John Snow. 1842.
2. *The Daughters of England, their Position in Society, Character, and Responsibilities.* By Mrs. Ellis. Post 8vo. pp. 396. London: Fisher. 1842.

THE present age is marked by the efforts which are being made to promote the real and solid excellences of the female sex, and this is one of its most delightful and important ‘signs.’ The feeling of honour and respect with which that sex is regarded by the other, is, and has long been, quite high enough, but it needs a more healthy direction and a more practical expression. It is impossible for any people exposed to the full influences of the Christian religion to be grossly wanting in that feeling. The general principles of that religion, the accounts it gives us of her history, her vocation, and responsibilities, the express injunctions it contains as to the mode in which she should be treated, acting upon the strong and natural dispositions of our nature, must

\* Horat. Satir. Lib. ii., 3. Lin. lxx., 1.

raise woman to a more dignified position, and invest her with a more profound and delicate esteem, than would otherwise belong to her. The tender and irrepressible affection with which the female followers of our Lord waited at his cross and hurried to his tomb, while it was a fine development of woman's rich and graceful goodness under the influences of heavenly truth and love, might have been the fruit of a mystic anticipation of those peculiar blessings which should flow to their sex from the religion which he revealed. We can fancy them, not only as shewing forth a personal regard, but as representing the homage of their sex to Him whom future times should prove to be their peculiar deliverer. The regard for 'the sex' which Christianity fosters, has passed through various conditions; it has had many different outward types; it has risen and fallen according as it has possessed or wanted influences auxiliary to those of Christianity; but it has been with weaker or more vigorous force, with worse or better revelation, wherever that system of truth and kindness has prevailed. Of the measure of this regard which exists at the present time in our own country, we have no grounds to complain; our complaint is of the way in which it manifests itself. Notwithstanding its prevalence, our female population are not what or where they ought to be, nor are they near to it. 'The rights of woman' stand in need of stanch and energetic advocacy; the highest of them more loudly call for the hearing and submission of her oppressors, than do many others of greater popularity and better prospect of success. Woman, though not generally subjected to occupations, that in other times and countries have disgraced her lord and master, more than her, is not regarded or treated in the right light. She is looked upon as a machine more than as a spiritual agent; she is esteemed an object to be praised, rather than a rational instrument of incalculable force; her ailments and infirmities, rather than solid excellences, make her interesting; and she is valued, not so much for what she does as for what she cannot do. We rejoice, however, that the times afford evidences of a great change in this respect. Many works have appeared within the last few years, whose object has been to maintain the capacity of woman for a higher function than she has yet discharged, and her right to be so educated and disciplined as to be qualified for it. It is true that these works speak highly of woman; this may be easily admitted and defended. To rescue any class from a state inferior to its powers, it must be proved that its powers deserve a higher one. But the tendency of this commendation is not to injure, but to improve. Women have been commonly praised at the expense of their excellences; they have been praised for things of trifling value, and things which entail no peculiar duties and



responsibilities. But the praise to which we refer is of faculties and capabilities, every one of which is inseparably associated with solemn obligations. Vanity will not spring from a just perception of their mental endowments and social influence; to see them is the only way of becoming humble. It feeds on ignorance and forgetfulness of them, while humility and modesty are here, as elsewhere, the natural results of correct knowledge. To show what woman may and should be, while it is the only possible way of raising her to her just position in society, will itself tend, not to inflate, but to correct and chasten her.

Mr. Parsons is a very chivalrous advocate of the sex. We cannot but dissent from the opinion, which he boldly maintains, of the intellectual equality of the sexes, while we admit that the error and mischief of estimating too highly the female mind are less than of thinking of it too meanly. In order to arrive at a proper estimate of its powers, it is necessary to remember not only what it has achieved, but the disadvantages under which the achievements have been made. Women have certainly no need to be ashamed of the literary character and productions of many of their sex when compared with those of their masculine competitors; and if reason for shame existed, the remembrance of the manner in which the sexes have been trained would go far to remove it. What has been done is great, and the difficulties in the way of the doing of it make it greater. We are not disposed to quarrel with any one who, zealously aiming to promote the thorough education and discipline of females, entertains extravagant conceptions of their natural ability. We remember that all reformers have been extravagant. To think too highly of their subject, to invest it with an unreal importance, is the almost necessary effect of that frequent or constant contemplation of it which earnest and laborious efforts for its promotion suppose; and at the same time, an excessive sense of its value may be useful, if not necessary, to sustain those labours. Mr. Parsons has done much to show that the inferiority of woman to man, in point of mind, if it be not altogether a fiction, is very much less than it is commonly reckoned; and one certain effect of his work will be to win for her, wherever it is carefully perused, a larger portion of intellectual respect than she at present possesses. We quote one passage upon this subject, because it will not only show how the author goes to work, but tend to redeem an important portion of Scripture from prevailing misconception:—

‘As an example of the truth of what I have been asserting’ (respecting the neglect of philology), ‘I may instance the words *‘help meet’* as applied to woman. These terms every one is supposed to understand, and yet we shall not go beyond the mark if we say that not one person in a thousand has a correct idea of their true import. The

Hebrew word 'כנעדר, *kenegdo*,' rendered in our translation 'meet for him,' comes from the root 'נר, *Gad*,' a term which, in its compound form, sometimes refers to *rank* or *dignity*, and is rendered by the words 'captain,' or 'prince.' In the latter sense it is applied both by Isaiah and Daniel to 'Messiah the prince.' In Proverbs, viii. 6, it is translated by the words '*excellent things*,' showing that *superior dignity* was one of its ideas. The words 'troop,' 'overcome,' 'to make manifest,' which it also signifies, comprehend the same notion. 'A troop' among the Jews, was a powerful and conspicuous force; 'to overcome,' also, was to achieve an action of no common dignity; and to tell, or manifest a thing, was to render an event clear or conspicuous. The words '*help meet for him*,' mean '*a help or succour according to his rank or dignity*.' The word *help* is very expressive; it is frequently applied to Jehovah himself, as our stay, succour, or help. 'God,' says the psalmist, 'is our refuge and strength, a very present *help* in time of trouble.' Now, it is worthy of remark, that this word 'help,' is the word chosen by the Creator himself to express the important relation to man which woman was to sustain; designating that relation by a term which in so many parts of the Scripture is applied to himself. Still, to let us see that the appellation was used in no inferior or menial acceptance, he says that woman was '*a help according to the rank or dignity of man*,' thus placing her on an equality with Adam; and by intimating that her existence was essential to his happiness, attributing to her that rank which in all civilized society every woman of a well-regulated mind is sure to obtain. Paradise had its thousand '*helps*,' all ready to administer to the wants of Adam; but among them all there was not one '*corresponding to his own dignity*,' until woman was formed. He had given names to every animal, and every one of them knew his voice, and obeyed his call. Some of them he may have instructed to imitate his speech, so that they repeated whatever lesson he had taught them; but still he had no companion, no one that could think and sympathize with him. All his reflections were lost upon them, and daily was he made to feel that he had no rational associate.'—p. 17.

Before women are contrasted with men, in reference to intellectual power, it is right that they should be *treated as well* as men. It is manifestly unfair, when education of any worth is almost denied to women, to institute an invidious comparison between them and men. Let women be taught as long and as diligently as men; let the vulgar prejudice against learned and scientific women vanish, instead of their being shunned and laughed at; if superior in intellectual taste and acquisition, let them be respected and esteemed; and we cannot doubt that woman, while she would retain, without the least diminution, her own peculiar grace and softness, would soon prove her possession of attributes that command respect, as well as of those that awaken love. She does, and must excel in '*whatsoever things are lovely*,' in the amiabilities that bless and beautify humanity,

but she would then become, in force of understanding, a more formidable rival to her companion, whose reputed superiority has been, in not a little degree, the effect, not of better faculties, but of better treatment.

It is melancholy to reflect upon the wretched waste of female mind with which the present and past ages have been chargeable. Had women no influence, did their character and conduct terminate upon themselves, an enlightened philanthropist would have ample cause for earnest lamentation in the comparatively uncultivated state in which so much fine sensibility and genius has been permitted to remain. But this is only part of the cause for lamentation. The influence of woman is immense. This is matter of universal consciousness and observation. Authority may belong to men, but influence belongs to women. The first command, the second secure submission; the first have office, the second power. What a change would take place in the whole condition and aspect of society, if female influence were the influence of well furnished intellect and thoroughly disciplined emotions. If to 'please the ladies' it were necessary to produce stores of historic, and scientific, and literary knowledge; if conceit, and presumption, and ignorance, always secured the indignant reproof of womanly wisdom and dignity, instead of passing as a graceful compliment, what a mighty energy would be brought to bear upon the education of the other sex. But this is but one way in which the improvement of woman would benefit all. Every man is educated, and every man is educated by woman. It may be optional with us whether we will give right and true education to the young, but we have no power, nor has any one, to prevent education being given. Unless we can put a drag upon the ever-active faculties of the human mind, unless we can close up the avenues of communication between it and men and things without, it must learn and form habits. If left to itself, or to those incompetent to its tuition and discipline, it will learn lies and practise vice, but left or not, it will become habituated to thoughts and actions which will constitute the character of the mature man. The question, therefore, is not whether the next or any other generation shall be educated; that question has been already decided by the laws of human nature and human intercourse; but the question is, whether it shall be educated in truth and godliness. And this depends upon the qualifications, mental and moral, of woman. Our earliest and most effective instructors are women. Mothers, nurses, servants, these are the persons that impart our first ideas and produce our first impressions. If they give the curious and wondering faculties of childhood a wrong direction, if they pervert its generous susceptibilities, no subsequent labours can counteract the evil,



the 'child' has been 'trained up in the way it should' *not* 'go, and when it is old it will not' easily 'depart from it.' So that if woman was indebted to man for her existence in the first instance, man is indebted to her for the intellectual character and moral mode of his.

It is a strange fancy that if women were thoroughly educated, they would become unfit for those occupations and duties that are supposed to constitute their appropriate and peculiar province. This objection has been used against the promotion of the general education of either sex, and with the same force. It goes, in all cases, upon a false assumption—namely, that the more the mind is acquainted with its powers and its relations, the more disposed it will be to neglect the offices for the discharge of which it was intended by its merciful Creator. It would be easy, no doubt, to find women who are educated better than others, neglecting their domestic and social obligations; but things which *co-exist* are not always connected together as *cause and effect*; and there are more rational explanations of their neglect than that supplied by their better education. Such women would attend to their proper vocation no better if they were uneducated. It is a fact, the evidence of which may be drawn from general observation, that the women most remarkable for the systematic non-observance of household functions, are the most thoughtless, empty, and ill-disciplined of their sex. There cannot be any real opposition between truth and duty, the right treatment of the mind and the proper fulfilment of its obligations. It would be as wise to say, that to supply the body with suitable food would be to endanger the discharge of its natural functions.

The work of Mr. Parsons is calculated to do much good. It is often written with considerable vigour; it contains, compared with its size, a great deal of fact and sense. And while the author has brought no small amount of knowledge and thought to bear upon a great variety of important topics, he has, by occasional strokes of wit and pungent satire, striking anecdotes, and quotations of appropriate poetry, prevented his book from being wearisome.

We would not be understood, of course, to express an unqualified approbation of the volume. This remark might be stereotyped for reviews, for where is the book likely to commend itself in every respect to that capricious class, the critics? But as it may mean anything, if simply made without explanation, and therefore means nothing, we must say more. We are sorry, then, that the author should have adopted 'a new classification of the faculties of the human mind,' because we are convinced that it is incorrect. If we understand what he means by the 'unity' of

the mind, we cannot but dissent from his view of it, such unity being contradicted by all observation of the peculiar predominant tastes and talents which different individuals display. But our chief objection is to his mode of arranging the different states or exercises of the mind. He divides them into 'inquiry,' 'apprehension,' 'intellect,' 'consciousness,' 'memory,' 'wisdom,' 'emotions,' 'will,' 'conscience.' How some of these came to be dignified as 'powers' at all, we are utterly at a loss to imagine, being nothing more than *effects* or *modes* of the exercise of certain faculties; and the whole appear to us, not to 'simplify,' but to embarrass the work of 'mental tuition.' The original vice of the system is the imagined 'unity' of the mind. It is, however, scarcely necessary to remark, that whatever mental systems men may adopt, or by whatever principles they may form them, the *practical* results are generally much alike.

There are portions of Mr. Parsons' book, which a little more reflection would, we cannot but think, have induced him to omit. There are extravagant assertions; indeed, his mind seems constituted to delight in extreme points. In a treatise containing much that is, of necessity, opposed to prevailing tastes and opinions, any evidence and instances of this must be injurious. This *ultraism* betrays itself sometimes in an extravagance of invective and condemnation which we deeply regret, as being something worse than a violation of good taste.\* The style of the book, though, like its author's mind, hard, vigorous, and nervous to no ordinary extent, might have been, and for this very reason, rendered more appropriate to a work having for its object female advancement. A little more gracefulness infused into it would be a great improvement, while freedom from every coarse expression and phrase would be a greater. Our author must add *refinement* to *strength* in his composition, if he would be a popular and useful writer, and especially for the ladies. If a second edition of the present work be called for, we should recommend a careful purgation of it from everything violent in spirit and ungraceful in expression. With these exceptions, we can and do recommend it, as containing much sterling matter, often presented in a new and striking form, and in a clear and pungent style. It is remarkably cheap.

Of the *second* volume at the head of this paper, 'The Daughters of England,' by Mrs. Ellis, the author shall state the plan and purpose in her own words:—

\* Thus the author, not content with representing monopolies as unjust, says, 'No monopolist can be a Christian. Like Judas, he sells his soul for mammon; and, without repentance and *restitution*, must go to the same place. I would as soon believe in the salvation of Satan as in the salvation of an impenitent monopolist.'—p. 346.

‘As no homage of mere admiration could have been so welcome to the author, as the approval it (the ‘Women of England’) has met with at many an English hearth, she has been induced to ask the attention of the public again, to a further exemplification of some subjects but slightly touched upon, and a candid examination of others which found no place in that work.

‘The more minute the details of individual, domestic, and social duty, to which allusion is made, the more necessary it becomes to make a distinct classification of the different eras in woman’s personal experience; the author, therefore, proposes dividing the subject into three parts, in which will be separately considered, the character and situation of the Daughters, Wives, and Mothers of England.

‘The Daughters of England only form the subject of the present volume; and as, in a former work, the remarks which were offered to the public upon the social and domestic duties of woman, were expressly limited to the middle ranks of society in Great Britain; so, in the present, it must be clearly understood as the intention of the writer to address herself especially to the same interesting and influential class of her countrywomen.’—Preface.

When Dr. Johnson intimated to George III., in his celebrated interview with that king, that he thought he had written as much as he ought to write, the prompt and graceful answer was, ‘I should have thought so too, if you had not written so well.’ So we may say of Mrs. Ellis; had her publications been other than they are, we should have been inclined to think that she had fulfilled her ‘mission’ as an authoress. There are many authors, and popular ones too, whose announcement of an intention to issue three volumes upon one subject, or upon many, would have filled us with consternation and dismay, for critics possess their measure of the common feelings of humanity, and they often suffer at the hands of authors as hard a lot as they inflict. But in the case of Mrs. Ellis we hail the prospect of her continued efforts to raise the moral tone and correct the social errors of her sex. Her works must exert a most important influence in teaching its true function, and developing its proper and peculiar powers.

No one can be acquainted with her writings without perceiving the *moral healthfulness* of their spirit and purpose. This is to us their principal charm. She does not puff up women with any vain conceit of their intellectual equality with men; she does not represent them as having any peculiar licence to be idle and self-indulgent; she does not describe them as objects to be adorned and contemplated by others, rather than as agents of good or evil in themselves; she does not connive at any of their numerous methods of self-deception and self-flattery; and, instead of approving of the false conceptions of morality and refinement which obtain in the world, she is content with nothing



short of the inflexible principles of the Divine law, and the unsophisticated dictates of a sound and healthful understanding. She would make women *real*, and not *artificial*; *thinking* as well as *feeling* beings; *severely moral*, and not *morbidly sentimental*. We sometimes dissent from her opinions, and feel surprised at her advices; but whatever may be her mistakes, they are those of judgment merely, and relate to matters of secondary moment. As an illustration of our remark respecting the moral healthfulness of Mrs. Ellis's writings, we will give a short quotation, containing a description of *real delicacy*:—

‘Above every other feature which adorns the female character, delicacy stands foremost within the province of good taste. Not that delicacy which is perpetually in quest of something to be ashamed of, which makes a merit of a blush, and simpers at the false construction its own ingenuity has put upon an innocent remark; this spurious kind of delicacy is as far removed from good taste, as from good feeling, and good sense; but that high-minded delicacy which maintains its pure and undeviating walk alike amongst women, as in the society of men; which shrinks from no necessary duty, and can speak, when required, with seriousness and kindness of things at which it would be ashamed indeed to smile or to blush—that delicacy which knows how to confer a benefit without wounding the feelings of another, and which understands also how, and when, to receive one—that delicacy which can give alms without display, and advice without assumption; and which pains not the most humble or susceptible being in creation. This is the delicacy which forms so important a part of good taste, that where it does not exist as a natural instinct, it is taught as the first principle of good manners, and considered as the universal passport to good society.’—pp. 140, 141.

But it is not enough to say that Mrs. Ellis is always true and sound in the principles and spirit of her works, she is far more. To confine ourselves to the ‘*Daughters of England*,’ it is throughout marked by evidences of a keen observation, a ripe intelligence, and a fine taste. It contains many noble trains of thought, many passages of true pathos and poetry, many bursts of generous sentiment. We could quote, almost without end, shrewd and beautiful remarks, but our limits imperatively forbid. One short passage upon the modern neglect of poetry, will show that in the higher departments of imagination, our authoress is no more deficient, than in the power to appreciate and enforce the more obvious and palpable principles of social obligation:—

‘The little encouragement which poetry meets with in the present day, arises, I imagine, out of its supposed opposition to utility; and certainly, if to eat and to drink, to dress as well or better than our neighbours, and to amass a fortune in the shortest possible space of

time, be the highest aim of our existence, then the less we have to do with poetry the better. But may we not be mistaken in the ideas we habitually attach to the word utility? There is a utility of material, and another of immaterial things. There is a utility in calculating our bodily wants, and our resources, and in regulating our personal efforts in proportion to both; but there is a higher utility in sometimes setting the mind free, like a bird that has been caged, to spread its wings, and soar into the ethereal world. There is a higher utility in sometimes pausing to feel the power which is in the immortal spirit to search out the principle of beauty, whether it bursts upon us with the dawn of rosy morning, or walks at gorgeous noon across the hills and valleys, or lies at evening's dewy close, enshrined within a folded flower.

‘It is good, and therefore it must be useful, to see and to feel that the all-wise Creator has set the stamp of degradation only upon those *things which perish in the using*; but that all those which enlarge and elevate the soul, all which afford the highest and purest enjoyment, from the loftiest range of sublimity, to the softest emotions of tenderness and love, are, and must be, immortal. Yes, the mountains may be overthrown, and the heavens themselves may melt away, but all the ideas with which they inspired us, their vastness and their grandeur, will remain. Every flower might fade from the garden of earth, but would beauty, as an essence, therefore cease to exist? Even love might fail us here. Alas! how often does it fail us at our utmost need. But the principle of love is the same; and there is no human heart so callous as not to respond to the language of the poet, when he says—

‘They sin who tell us love can die,

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Its holy flame for ever burneth,  
From heaven it came, to heaven returneth;  
Too oft on earth a troubled guest,  
At times deceived, at times opprest;  
It here is tried and purified,  
And hath in heaven its perfect rest;  
It soweth here with toil and care,  
But the harvest-time of love is there.’—pp. 127—129.

The volume treats of a great variety of subjects, indeed we scarcely know what topic is omitted that the ‘Daughters of England’ ought to take much interest in. The following are the heads of the chapters:—I. Important Inquiries. II. Economy of Time. III. Cleverness, Learning, and Knowledge. IV. Music, Painting, and Poetry. V. Taste, Tact, and Observation. VI. Beauty, Health, and Temper. VII. Society, Fashion, and Love of Distinction. VIII. Gratitude and Affection. IX. Friendship and Flirtation. X. Love and Courtship. XI. Selfishness, Vanity, Artifice, and Integrity. XII. Dedication of Youth. Although the work does not profess to be directly a religious one, it is written throughout with a profound deference to the truth of God, while the last chapter abounds with observations admirably adapted to impress the youthful mind with His sacred claims.

Art. IV. *A Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art, comprising the History, Description, and Scientific Principles of every branch of Human Knowledge, with the derivations and definitions of all the terms in general use; illustrated by Engravings on wood.* General Editor, W. T. Brande, F.R.S., &c., assisted by other Scientific and Literary Gentlemen. 8vo, double columns.

THIS is an admirable work, and supplies what all scientific and literary men must have long felt to be a desideratum in our literature. He who has no Encyclopædia will find it an excellent succedaneum for one, and he who has, will find it a valuable supplement. While it is sufficiently full and copious to form a tolerable substitute for the more gigantic works of an Encyclopædic character, no mere cyclopædia can supply its place. We predict for it, therefore, an extensive circulation—a circulation at least equal to that of any of the voluminous dictionaries on special subjects, issued by its enterprising publishers; of which series it forms the twelfth.

It might, at first sight, as the editor has remarked in the preface, be thought superfluous to produce a work like the present, at a time when so many encyclopædias of vast extent and of acknowledged merit, are already before the public. But this is easily shown to be a mistake. To one and all of those works, the common objection applies that they are not works of easy and convenient reference. It is true it may not be very difficult to refer to them in our own studies, where the twenty or twenty-five volumes quarto stand in goodly array, close at hand, though even there it will be found of no little convenience to have one small book, (in general answering the same purpose,) on our library tables. But, be the convenience of consulting them in our own studies what it may, it is manifest that they are not *portable* works; they are not amongst the books of which Cicero says, ‘pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur;’ if it may be affirmed ‘delectant domi,’ it cannot be affirmed ‘non impediunt foris.’—In the next place, it is too often the case, that from the very copiousness, profundity, and extent of the articles in the more voluminous encyclopædias, the reader cannot very easily pick out the limited information he is in immediate search of, and for which, in nine cases out of ten, he consults such works. He requires it may be a concise explanation of some unknown term in science or art, or of certain great principles or facts which are sure from their prominence and importance to be mentioned in any account, however brief. Whatever else is omitted, *they* are not, and these are the things which are generally wanted. He finds them in the encyclopædia it is true, but from the necessity of giving them their due importance, and of



treating them in sufficient detail, he finds them imbedded in a great mass of matter, which, however valuable, is at the moment somewhat in the way, and he often has to read a couple of pages which he does not want, to find a couple of sentences that he does.—In the next place, the compilers of the generality of the more recent, and we may add, the more valuable encyclopædias, actuated by a natural and laudable ambition to provide not only a repository of universal knowledge, but to present it in a systematic shape, have to a certain extent sacrificed, (and unavoidably sacrificed on such a principle,) the *dictionary character* which properly belongs to all such works. Encyclopædias, in many cases, have consisted rather of a *series* of treatises on the various branches of science and art,—often, it is true, of great extent, copiousness, and value,—than of knowledge broken up into those minute fragments in which it is most generally sought in a work of reference—in other words, in a dictionary. They contain knowledge in large *masses*, in which the particular points on which information is needed must be hunted out, rather than knowledge resolved into its constituent elements, and presented in alphabetical order. The consequence is, that if you look for the explanation of a term or a process connected with any large branch of science, you are referred to another volume containing the treatise in question, from which (unless the reference be to a particular paragraph, and not to the treatise in general) you cannot extract what you want without considerable labour; or (as is the case in the ‘*Encyclopædia Britannica*,’ and as will be the case in the ‘*Encyclopædia Metropolitana*’) you have first to consult a quarto volume of index, and then having found a reference to the subject you want, to consult another volume for the required information. Let it not, for a moment, be supposed that we undervalue these great works. They are, in our judgment, far more valuable than any mere dictionary can be; and to those who cannot afford to buy many books, form of themselves no despicable ‘library of universal knowledge.’ The treatises they contain on the various branches of science and art, though not so full as to supersede the necessity of larger works to him who is professionally studying any one of those branches, are amply sufficient for all who are seeking only that knowledge which may be expected in a liberally cultivated mind. Many of them, indeed, have been from time to time published separately as elementary treatises on the branches of science to which they refer. This has been especially the case with those of the ‘*Encyclopædia Metropolitana*,’ and ‘*Encyclopædia Britannica*,’ and we hope that we may still be favoured with more of the elaborate articles contained in these vast compilations.

It will not be supposed, then, that we for a moment wish to

put a mere dictionary, however valuable, in competition with these gigantic works. All we mean is, that they still leave ample room for a dictionary such as that we are now reviewing, and which even he who can afford to purchase them will still find of great value. We heartily subscribe to the judgment of the editor of the present work:—‘The supply of that concise and authentic information on the various subjects of science, literature and art, which a book of reference should furnish with the utmost facility to all classes of readers, has been but a secondary object with the compilers of our great Encyclopædias. . . . They are valuable as substitutes for libraries, as repositories of the various knowledge connected with the different departments of which they treat; and being so, they cannot be convenient manuals.’

In the fourth place, it must be acknowledged, that the older cyclopædias (especially that patriarch amongst them, Rees’) are not ‘manuals of easy and convenient reference,’ from a peculiarity the very opposite to that on which we have been animadverting. There the principle of subdivision of topics is carried too far; the subjects are broken up into such minute fragments, that it is difficult to find under any one head as much as we want, and by being referred to several distinct heads under almost every other, we lose the whole advantage of a ready alphabetical arrangement. We have not Rees’ by us to enable us to verify and illustrate these observations by particular example; but we well remember in our youth being much annoyed with the want, so to speak, of *centralization*. Nor is this all. So manifold are the references to this and that head under almost every other, that too often the information promised is not forthcoming at last, or at all events, one gets weary of collecting and then piecing together the several shreds and fragments of some one subject by means of ten or twenty different references. Nor, indeed, will such combination of fragmentary information answer the purpose, where the very object is to ascertain the connexion and mutual dependence of the several parts of a subject. The description of each wheel and rod and valve of a steam-engine separately, will not give us an idea of its structure as a whole, or the relation of the several parts. We remember to have sometimes felt, in consulting some of the older cyclopædias, much as one would feel who, desirous of obtaining a general view of the structure of the human body, and of the mutual dependence of its several constituent parts, should find a reference of this kind—‘BODY (THE HUMAN), see head, arms, legs, eyes, nose, &c.’; or who, wishing to know something of the construction of a PUMP, should find himself referred to the articles, PISTON, VALVE, SCREW, SPOUT, FLUID, &c. &c.

We are of course aware that the question, how far it is possible to combine the excellences of both kinds of encyclopædias, one of which exhibits knowledge in masses, in the shape rather of extensive treatises than of brief articles, and the other in minute detail under an alphabetical arrangement, is a difficult question of limits. The 'Encyclopædia Metropolitana' may be considered as having most fully exemplified the first plan, and Rees' the second. The 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' and the 'Penny Cyclopædia,' may be considered as occupying a middle position between these two, the plan of the former, however, being nearer that of a collection of treatises, and the latter, that of a dictionary of reference.

Lastly, we may remark, that to whatever extent these voluminous and valuable works may be supposed to fulfil or fail of their professed purposes, their expensive character would alone put them beyond the reach of the generality of purchasers; and we have therefore reason to congratulate all whose means are only moderate, that they can here purchase a book, which in a very great number of cases, perhaps we might say by far the greater number, will give them the information for which they would apply to an encyclopædia if they had it; while even those who *can* afford an encyclopædia, will find this a valuable addition to it, as a portable and convenient manual of reference.

We have said enough to show that such a work as the present was a *desideratum*—that there was ample scope for it, and that without any way interfering with the claims or pretensions of any work already before the public. It is with pleasure we add that the present volume well supplies the need. Of its execution we can conscientiously speak as highly as of its general design.

One of the most formidable difficulties with which the compilers of such a work would necessarily have to contend, is obvious enough. It would be hard in such limited space to secure sufficient minuteness of detail to render the articles really serviceable—to prevent their consisting only of what is vague and general, and therefore of little value. This difficulty would appear at first sight almost insurmountable, when we consider the immense field comprehended in the terms 'Literature, Science, and Art.' It is a most mortifying thing to open a work of this kind, and find only what one knew perfectly well beforehand,—a statement too general to be of any use; to refer to the word 'man' for example, and find that all we are indulged with is the definition that he is a 'reasoning animal;' or to the word 'pump,' and discover little more than that it is a 'machine for raising water;' or to the word 'Manichees,' and find that it was a sect which flourished about such and such a period. What is wanted is



sufficient detail to answer all *ordinary* purposes, great *speciality* of statement, and references to more ample sources of information. The quality we refer to under the word 'speciality,' will itself often make room for considerable detail. For example, dates and names of persons and places ought to be specified. No doubt to secure this precision will involve a great deal of trouble, but let it be recollected, it is the only thing which can render such a work as the present of any value. Now, if it is secured, it will be found, that in many cases at least, it will take up less room than more vague and general statements; and yet the excuse 'that there is not room for details,' is often pleaded for the absence of this speciality.

The more specific statement becomes the briefer. It requires less space to say that this event or that took place in such a precise year, than to say that it occurred towards the beginning, or middle, or end of such and such a century; to say that this man or that founded such a school in such a year, than that it owed its origin to certain scholars who flourished somewhere about such a period. But whether, on the whole, the balance of brevity is in favour of this speciality, or against it, certain it is that it must be secured, if such a work as the present is to be of any real utility at all: that it will involve much more trouble to the compilers, will not, of course, admit of doubt. From that trouble, the editor of this 'dictionary,' and his assistants, have not shrunk. The difficulty of presenting *multum in parvo*, has been met and combated most successfully; in a manner, indeed, which fully illustrates the virtue, first of a small clear type; secondly, of accuracy of knowledge; and thirdly, of precision of expression. It is true that we have here and there been disappointed; but in a vast majority of instances, we believe that sufficient degree of detail and speciality of statement is secured to answer the purpose for which such a work is usually consulted. We look into such a book to learn the meaning of a term of science or art—to get an account of the more important principles (with their application) which lie at the basis of the several sciences—of the construction of the principal machines—or the modes of performing the more remarkable processes in the arts and manufactures—or of the sources from which, when we want more information, we may readily obtain it. Now we believe that in nine cases out of ten, the information sought for will here be obtained.

The requisite speciality would have been impossible, had it not been for the judicious mode of printing. The type, though beautifully clear, is very small, considerably smaller than that employed in some other volumes of the series of 'Dictionaries and Encyclopædias' issuing from the same publishers. In fact,

the reader will in some degree abate his wonder that there has been so much condensed into so small a compass, when we state that, having had the curiosity to examine the quantity of type in a single page, we find that it contains about as much as four pages and a half of 'Lardner's Cyclopædia;' and consequently, that this single volume of fourteen hundred and forty-four pages, contains about as much as sixteen volumes of the above-mentioned work! It may therefore be considered a curiosity in typography.

Considerable, however, as is the space thus secured, there has unquestionably been great condensation, by which alone so much could have been got into the allotted compass.

It will accordingly be found that the articles are anything rather than meagre, vague, or general. Many of the more important subjects have from four to twenty pages allotted to them. Thus, the general article on 'anatomy' extends to four pages; that entitled 'man,' to three pages; that on 'printing,' to five; that on 'political economy,' to eight and a half; that on 'geology,' to more than seventeen; that on 'music,' to eighteen; while the details of these vast subjects are treated in a great variety of separate articles. Now, considering how much each of these pages contains, it will be seen that the above mentioned subjects cannot be very superficially treated. Every term of importance, though not significant of a science or a distinct branch of science, is allotted a space proportionate to it. Thus the word 'arch' has nearly a page; 'prison,' a page; 'probability,' two pages and a half; 'corn,' a page and half; 'compass,' nearly a page; 'refraction,' three and a half; 'resistance of fluids,' one and three quarters; 'bridge,' two pages; 'engraving,' three pages; 'bank,' six pages. The scientific articles generally are admirably done; those on mathematics and physics, though very thorough, are remarkably perspicuous, while the whole volume is largely illustrated by very neat engravings.

On the whole, we think the language of the preface justly descriptive of the work. The editors tell us 'they have endeavoured to produce a condensed and compendious dictionary, of a convenient size, and adapted to the wants and means of all classes, that may be advantageously used as a manual or reference book in every department of science, literature, and art; and they flatter themselves that by rejecting all discussion and details not indispensable to the proper elucidation of the different topics, the work will be found, notwithstanding its comparatively narrow limits, to furnish, in the readiest possible manner, precise and accurate information on the all but infinite variety of subjects which it embraces. Great pains have been taken to make the

definitions and explanations correct, clear, and concise. The principles of the most popular and important departments of science, literature, and art, are also distinctly though briefly explained; and notices are given of their rise, progress, and present state.' We also think the next paragraph, on the whole, fully borne out. 'Neither must it be supposed that, because these articles are, for the most part, brief and compendious, they are either flimsy or superficial. On the contrary, they have been compiled throughout with the greatest care. Popularity has not been sought for at the expense of science, nor brevity by the sacrifice of useful facts or appropriate illustrations. The work contains not a few new and original views; and it is confidently believed that in every department it will be found to embody the latest information, and to be on a level with the most advanced state to which knowledge has attained, not merely in this but also in other countries. No statement has been made as to any unusual or doubtful matter, without referring to the authority whence it has been derived; and when subjects of general interest and importance are noticed, the reader is referred to the works relating to them, in which they are handled with the greatest ability. Not only, therefore, will those who may consult this work have a guarantee for the authenticity of its information, but they will learn the sources to which they may resort with the greatest advantage, should they wish to make further inquiries. Such, in a few words, is the design of this work, and unless its publishers be greatly deceived as to its execution, it can hardly fail to be useful to individuals of all ranks and conditions, to the man of business and the man of pleasure, the student and the superficial reader, the busy and the idle. Every one who takes any share in conversation, or who dips, how cursorily soever, into any newspaper or other publication, will every now and then find the advantage of having access to the **DICTIONARY OF SCIENCE, LITERATURE, AND ART.**'

We shall furnish the reader with two methods of testing (*quantum valeant*) the justice of our commendations of this work. One is by giving a list of the writers, whose names constitute a guarantee for the ability with which each department has been superintended; the other, by furnishing two or three brief specimens of the work itself. The latter will be difficult; for our space will not permit us to extract any of the longer and more elaborate articles. We must content ourselves, therefore, with citing two or three short articles, which, while interesting to our readers, will serve to show the ability with which the work has been executed. The names of the writers are as follows:—



General Editor—W. T. Brande; assisted by Joseph Cauvin, Esq.

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|---|-----------|--|
| 1. Architecture, Music, and the Fine Arts   | - - - - - | } Joseph Gwilt, F.S.A., &c.              |
| 2. Botany   | - - - - - |  |
| 3. Chemistry, Geology, Mineralogy, Medicine, and the Arts and Sciences depending on Chemical Principles | - - - - - | } W. T. Brande.                          |
| 4. Gardening and Agriculture  | - - - - - |  |
| 5. Law  | - - - - - | Herman Merivale, A.M.                    |
| 6. General Literature   | - - - - - | { T. R. M'Culloch, and<br>Joseph Cauvin. |
| 7. Mathematics, and the Arts and Sciences depending on Mathematical Principles                          | - - - - - |  |
| 8. Nautical Science   | - - - - - | Lieutenant Raper, R.N.                   |
| 9. Political Economy and Statistics   | - - - - - | T. R. M'Culloch.                         |
| 10. Theology  | - - - - - | Rev. Chas. Merivale, A.M.                |
| 11. Zoology, Anatomy, and Physiology  | - - - - - | Richard Owen, F.R.S.                     |

And now for one or two short specimens. We are convinced that, imperfectly as they represent the work, the reader cannot but be struck with the quantity of facts comprehended in each article, and at the same time with the precision with which each statement is made. Our specimens shall be taken, as far as possible, from the most various departments of the work.

'NEWSPAPER REPORTING.—The name given to that system whereby the parliamentary debates and speeches delivered at public meetings, &c., are promulgated throughout the country. As it is contrary to the rules of both Houses that any stranger should be present, the publication of the debates is held to be a breach of privilege; but this regulation has always been defeated; either, as in former times, by the means adopted by Dr. Johnson and others, of publishing the speeches of the different members under fictitious names, or, as at present, by the Houses themselves tacitly giving their sanction to the practice. The foundation of the present system of parliamentary reporting may be fairly ascribed to the late Mr. William Woodfall, whose retentive memory enabled him, after having listened to the debates, daily to communicate to the public, in what he called 'a hasty sketch of the proceedings in parliament last night,' a full and most accurate account of the different speeches. Secret deliberations, however, have been so long renounced, that the right of the public to be present, through their agents, the reporters, is as clearly established now as if no theoretical privacy had ever existed; but if any member were repeatedly to insist on the exclusion of 'strangers,' as all are called who neither are members nor officers of the house, there can be no doubt that this abuse of the privilege must lead to such a modification of the standing order, as would deprive individual members of any control over a

matter so interesting to the nation. The process of parliamentary reporting, and the qualifications of those by whom the task is performed, cannot be adequately described within the narrow limits of this article; but it is hoped the reader may be enabled to form some idea of both from the following brief outline. Every publication not copying from or abridging any other, but giving original reports, keeps one of a series of reporters constantly in the gallery of the Lords, and another in the Commons. These, like sentinels, are, at stated periods, relieved by their colleagues, when they take advantage of the interval to transcribe their notes, in order to be ready again to resume the duty of note-taking, and afterwards that of transcription for the press. A succession of reporters for each establishment is thus maintained, and the process of writing from their notes never interrupted till an account of the whole debates of the evening has been committed to the hands of the printer. There are only seven publications for which a reporter is constantly in attendance, and these include the London morning newspapers, from which all others that give debates are under the necessity of copying or abridging them. The number of reporters maintained by each, varies from ten or eleven to seventeen or eighteen. They are, for the most part, gentlemen of liberal education, many having graduated at the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Glasgow, or Dublin; and they must all possess a competent knowledge of the multifarious subjects which come under the consideration of parliament. The expedition and ability with which their duties are performed, must be admitted by every one who attends a debate and afterwards reads a newspaper, while the correctness and rapidity with which their manuscript is put in type and printed, has long been a subject of surprise and admiration. See the *Parliamentary Companion*, a valuable brochure.'

'PLATINUM. (So called from the Spanish word *plata*, silver, on account of its colour.)—A metal of a white colour, exceedingly ductile, malleable, and difficult of fusion. It is the heaviest substance known, its specific gravity being 21.5. It undergoes no change from air or moisture, and is not attacked by any of the pure acids; it is dissolved by chlorine and nitro-muriatic acid, and is oxidised at high temperatures by pure potassa and lithia. It is only found in South America and in the Uralian Mountains; it is usually in small grains of a metallic lustre, associated or combined with palladium, rhodium, iridium, and osmium; and with copper, iron, lead, titanium, chromium, gold and silver; it is also usually mixed with alluvial sand. The particles are seldom so large as a small pea, but sometimes lumps have been found of the size of a hazel nut to that of a pigeon's egg. In 1826 it was first discovered in a vein associated with gold, by Boussingault, in the province of Antioquia, in South America. When a perfectly clean surface of platinum is presented to a mixture of hydrogen and oxygen gas, it has the extraordinary property of causing them to combine so as to form water, and often with such rapidity as to render the metal red hot; *spongy platinum*, as it is usually called, obtained by heating the ammonio-muriate of platinum, is most effective in producing this extra-

ordinary result; and a jet of hydrogen directed upon it may be inflamed by the metal thus ignited, a property which has been applied to the construction of convenient instruments for procuring a light. The equivalent of platinum is about 98. It is precipitated from its nitromuriatic solution by sal ammoniac, which throws it down in the form of a yellow powder, composed of bichloride of platinum, and sal ammoniac.'

'**MEGATHERIUM**, (Gr. *μεγας* and *θηριον* beast.)—The name given by Cuvier to a genus of extinct edentate quadrupeds, including and represented by one of the most gigantic of terrestrial mammalia. The haunches of the *Megatherium Cuvieri* were more than five feet wide, and its body twelve feet long and eight feet high; its feet were a yard in length, and terminated by formidable compressed claws of immense size; its tail was of great length, and probably much larger than that of any other extinct or living terrestrial mammal. The head of the megatherium was relatively small: the cranium presents many of the peculiarities of that of the sloth. The upper jaw was armed with five teeth on each side, the lower jaw with four on each side; all the eighteen teeth belong to the molar series. They were perpetually growing, like the incisors of the Rodents, but had their grinding surface traversed by two transverse ridges, and their texture composed, as in the teeth of the sloth, of a central body of coarse ivory, a thick outer coating of cæmentum, and a thin intermediate layer of fine and dense ivory, which forms the prominent terminating ridges of the crown. Nothing certain is known of the nature of the integuments of this singular and enormous animal; but the fossil bony armour which has been conjectured to have appertained to the megatherium, unquestionably belongs to another species of gigantic edentate, more nearly allied to the armadillo.'

'**OLIVE**. (Lat. *olea*.)—A genus of trees belonging to the diandria monagynia class of plants. The *Olea Europea* has an upright stem, with numerous branches, grows to the height of twenty or thirty feet, and differs from most trees in yielding a fixed oil from the pericarp, instead of from the seed. The olive-tree has, in all ages, been held in peculiar estimation; and some authors have styled it 'a mine upon earth.' It was sacred to Minerva. Olive-wreaths were used by the Greeks and Romans to crown the brows of victors; and it is still universally regarded as emblematic of peace. The olive flourishes only in warm and comparatively dry parts of the world, as the south of France and Spain, in Italy, Syria, and the north of Africa; and though it has been raised in the open air in this country, its fruit did not ripen. The fruit is a smooth oval plum, about three quarters of an inch in length, and half an inch in diameter; of a deep violet colour when ripe; whitish and fleshy within; bitter and nauseous, but replete with a bland oil. Olives intended for preservation are gathered before they are ripe. In pickling, the object is to remove and to preserve them green, by impregnating them with a brine of aromatized sea-salt; and for this purpose various methods are employed. But it is chiefly for the sake of its oil that the olive tree is cultivated. Olive oil is pale yellow, its density is .910. When fresh, and of fine quality,



it is almost tasteless, having only a very slight and agreeable nutty flavour. It is less apt than most other fixed oils to become viscid by exposure, and hence is preferred for greasing clock and watch work. It is largely used as an article of food. It is the principal article of export from the kingdom of Naples. Of 2,791,057 gallons imported in 1830; 2,034,237 were from Italy; 639,468 from Spain, 52,004 from Malta; 21,467 from Turkey; 11,300 from the Ionian Islands, and about 30,000 (at second-hand) from Germany and the Netherlands. There is a duty of eight guineas a ton on olive-oil.—(See *Dictionary of Commerce, &c.*)

We should have been pleased to extract a specimen or two from the articles on subjects connected with polite literature, the fine arts, ethics, or theology, but our limits forbid. In the last mentioned department, the articles are generally written in a vein of commendable liberality, though we have noticed two or three strange blunders. Thus, for example, it is stated that the 'mode of church government' recognised by the Baptists, both particular and general, 'acknowledges three orders of ministers; of whom the messengers correspond to the bishops, the elders to priests, and the ministering brethren to deacons!' Verily, the reverend compiler of this department must have been oblivious when he penned the above sentence. We also see that under the article 'Jubilee of the Reformation,' 1835, that festivity is represented as celebrating the 'two hundredth' (instead of three hundredth) anniversary of the Reformation. A few similar inaccuracies may perhaps be found in other departments; but upon the whole, we believe that they are as few and as unimportant as were ever found in any work of equal extent and multifariousness.

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Art. V. *Lives of the Queens of England, from the Norman Conquest; with Anecdotes of their Courts, now first published from official records and other authentic documents, private as well as public.* By Agnes Strickland. Vol. V. London: Henry Colburn. 1842.

A GREAT improvement has recently been effected in our historical literature. Works belonging to this department have till lately partaken of the character of party manifestoes, rather than of impartial and veracious records, while the paucity of their facts, and the mendacious character of many of their assertions, have been poorly atoned for by the stateliness or elegance of their style. From the time of Heylin to a recent date, there are few writers whose pages do not bespeak the partisan rather than the historian,—the sworn advocate of a faction, rather than the impartial and veracious annalist. We are not of course now referring to such works as those of Whitelocke, Rushworth, and

Nelson, though even here our charge may to some extent be maintained; but to those which assume the character of general or specific history, the authors of which have undertaken to work up into a continuous and veritable form the documents preserved by the diligence and care of our predecessors. The most popular of these writers, those whose productions have obtained the largest circulation, and have exerted the widest influence, have been the greatest transgressors in this matter. To such an extent has this been the case, that, without denying them the possession of some admirable qualities, it may be affirmed that their popularity has been based upon their defects, has mainly resulted from their addressing the bad passions, and serving the party interests of their readers. Whatever may be the excellences of such writers as Clarendon and Hume, it is impossible for an impartial mind to avoid the conviction that their celebrity would have been far less, had their impartiality been greater. The simple fact of their having written for a party, and that party the dominant one, has done more than all their excellences to secure the rank they have held amongst English historians. Had Clarendon executed a faithful portraiture of the great actors of his day, doing equal justice to friend and foe, admitting alike the errors of the former and the virtues of the latter, *the History of the Rebellion* would not have been honoured with the patronage of Oxford, nor been the text-book of every tory writer who undertook to describe the times of Charles and Cromwell. A better order of things is now happily arising, full of promise to political science and practical good government. We hail its dawn, and shall gladly contribute our aid to its advancement.

One of the first things to be done is to unlearn much which we have been taught. This, perhaps, is the most difficult part of our duty, since it requires an exercise of self-control, a triumph over long cherished prepossessions, and an honest adherence to truth, which are seldom to be met with. Its necessity, however, is absolute, and no difficulty must discourage our efforts. The volume before us affords an illustration of what we mean, and will severely test the patience and historical fidelity of many of its readers. The last of the two *Lives* which it contains, is that of Mary, daughter of Henry the Eighth, by Katharine of Arragon, and the views broached respecting her character and policy, as they are directly opposed to those which are current, so they will be met with strong incredulity, if they are not denounced as ecclesiastical and political heresies of no mean order. But we must briefly detain our readers with the account furnished of Henry's last wife, before we enter on an examination of any of the interesting points which occur in the biography of his eldest daughter.

Katharine Parr, the sixth wife of Henry, was the first protestant queen of England. The political connexions of some of her predecessors had disposed them to extend a questionable aid to the reformed party, but Katharine Parr 'was the only one among the consorts of Henry who, in the sincerity of an honest heart, embraced the doctrine of the reformation, and imperilled her crown and life in support of her principles.' Her birth is usually assigned to the year 1510, but the correspondence of her mother with Lord Dacre in the fifteenth year of Henry VIII., in which she is said to be *under twelve*, proves that it could not have occurred till 1513. Her father, who was master of the wards, and comptroller of the royal household, died in 1517, leaving the guardianship of three infant children to his widow, 'a lady of great prudence and wisdom, with a discreet care for the main chance.' Katharine early exhibited superior talents, which were cultivated to the utmost by the assiduous care of her mother. She read and wrote Latin with facility, had some knowledge of Greek, and was well versed in several modern languages. She was twice married before her union with the king, first, to Lord Borough, and secondly, to Lord Latimer, both of whom were mature widowers. At the time of her second marriage she was probably under twenty years of age, and was a member of the papal church, in which she continued up to the death of Lord Latimer. During her second widowhood, her hand was sought by Sir Thomas Seymour, brother of Jane Seymour, and uncle to the infant prince, Edward. Seymour was gay, magnificent, and brave, with more ambition than consisted with his safety, and as little moral principle as permitted the maintenance of a fair exterior. Katharine, however strange it may appear, returned his attachment, and, according to her own statement, 'had determined to become his wife,' when another suitor interposed, before whom Seymour deemed it prudent to retire.

'Love was for awhile victorious over ambition in the heart of Katharine. Her affection for Seymour rendered her very listless about the royal match at first; but her favoured lover presumed not to contest the prize with his all-powerful brother-in-law and sovereign. A rival of Henry's temper, who held the heads of wives, kinsmen, and favourites, as cheaply as tennis balls, was not to be withstood. The Adonis of the court vanished from the scene, and the bride-elect, accommodating her mind to the change of bridegroom, as she might, prepared to assume the glittering fetters of a queenly slave with a good grace. The arrangements for the royal nuptials were made with a celerity truly astonishing; barely three months intervened between the proving of Lord Latimer's will and the day on which Cranmer grants a licence 'for the marriage of his sovereign lord, King Henry,



with Katharine Latymer, late the wife of the Lord de Latymer, deceased, in whatever church, chapel, or oratory he may please, without publication of banns, dispensing with all ordinances to the contrary, for reasons concerning the honour and advancement of the whole realm.' Dated July 10th, 1543.'—pp. 31, 32.

The maternal duties of her new position were discharged with exemplary diligence. The princesses Mary and Elizabeth were restored by her influence to their proper rank at court, and continued to receive, up to the death of their father, daily proofs of her kindness.

'Notwithstanding the great difference in their religious tenets, a firm friendship ever subsisted between Katharine Parr and Mary. They were near enough in age to have been sisters, they excelled in the same accomplishments, and the great learning and studious pursuits of these royal ladies rendered them suitable companions for each other. The more brilliant talents of the young Elizabeth were drawn forth and fostered under the auspices of her highly-gifted step-mother. Katharine Parr took also an active part in directing the studies of the heir of England, and her approbation appears to have been the greatest encouragement the prince could receive.

'In a letter, written in French, to Queen Katharine, Edward notices the beauty of her penmanship. 'I thank you,' says he, 'most noble and excellent queen, for the letters you have lately sent me; not only for their beauty, but for their imagination. For when I see your *belle ecriture* (fair writing), and the excellence of your genius, greatly surpassing my invention, I am sick of writing. But then, I think how kind your nature is, and that whatever proceeds from a good mind and will, will be acceptable, and so I write you this letter.'

'A modern author has noticed the great similarity between the handwriting of Edward VI. and Katharine Parr, and from this circumstance it has been conjectured that Katharine superintended the education of one or other of the juvenile members of the royal family previous to her marriage with King Henry. No official evidence of her appointment to any office of the kind has been discovered, but her great reputation for wisdom and learning renders the tradition not improbable. Certain it is, that after she became queen, she took great delight in directing the studies of her royal step-children. It is evident that Edward VI., Queen Elizabeth, and their youthful cousins, Lady Jane and Lady Katharine Gray, all imbibed her taste for classic literature, and her attachment to the principles of the Reformation. She induced not only Elizabeth, but Mary, to translate passages from the Scriptures. Each of these princesses compiled a little manual of devotions in Latin, French, and English, dedicated to their accomplished step-mother.'—pp. 39, 40.

The wayward mind of Henry continued for some time to yield to her influence, which being perfectly free from all malignant taint, contributed at once to the happiness of the monarch, and

to the quiet and well-being of his household. It was a delicate and irksome drudgery to which she was doomed, with an uncertain future, and the memory of an attachment which ambition and fear had prompted her to sacrifice for a crown. Few women could have mastered the difficulties of her situation, and even Katharine herself would probably have failed, had she not possessed the experience which her former marriages conferred. Miss Strickland's remarks on this subject afford the only explanation of which the case admits.

‘The beauty, the talents, and rare acquirements of Katharine Parr, together with the delicate tact which taught her how to make the most of these advantages, enabled her to retain her empire over the fickle heart of Henry for a longer period than the fairest and most brilliant of her predecessors. But these charms were not the most powerful talismans with which the queen won her influence. It was her domestic virtues, her patience, her endearing manners, that rendered her indispensable to the irritable and diseased voluptuary, who was now paying the severe penalty of bodily tortures and mental disquiet for the excesses of his former life. Henry had grown so corpulent and unwieldy in person, that he was incapable of taking the slightest exercise, much less of recreating himself with the invigorating field sports and boisterous pastimes in which he had formerly delighted. The days had come unexpectedly upon him in which he had no pleasure. His body was so swollen and enfeebled by dropsy, that he could not be moved to an upper chamber without the aid of machinery. Hitherto, the excitement of playing the leading part in the public drama of royal pomp and pageantry, had been, with sensual indulgences, the principal objects of his life. Deprived of these, and with the records of an evil conscience to dwell upon in the weary hours of pain, his irascibility and impatience would have goaded him to frenzy, but for the soothing gentleness and tender attentions of his amiable consort. Katharine was the most skilful and patient of nurses, and shrunk not from any office, however humble, whereby she could afford mitigation to the sufferings of her royal husband. It is recorded of her, that she would remain for hours on her knees beside him, applying fomentations and other palliatives to his ulcerated leg, which he would not permit any one to dress but her. She had already served an apprenticeship to the infirmities of sickness, in her attendance on the deathbeds of her two previous husbands, and had doubtless acquired the art of adapting herself to the humours of male invalids. A royally-born lady might have been of little comfort to Henry in the days of his infirmity, but Katharine Parr had been educated in the school of domestic life, and was perfect in the practice of its virtues and its duties. She sought to charm the *ennui* which oppressed the once magnificent and active sovereign, in the unwelcome quiet of his sick chamber, by inducing him to unite with her in directing the studies, and watching the hopeful promise of his beloved heir, prince Edward.’—pp. 66—68.

There were times, however, when the life of Katharine was

threatened with imminent peril. She was hated by the Catholic party, who regarded her as a mainstay of the reformation, and watched their opportunity to effect her ruin. Human life was little thought of in those days, and the men who had been trained in the court of Henry were not likely to be very scrupulous about the means employed to effect the removal of an obnoxious personage from the path of their ambition. They knew the waywardness of the king, his suspicious and fretful temper, the fearful gusts of his passion, and the more than ordinary sensitiveness with which he recoiled from anything that threatened to touch his spiritual supremacy. They knew all this, and they calculated accordingly, and there was good reason to conclude that their calculations would prove true.

The very virtues of the queen afforded at length the opportunity for which her enemies looked. She was accustomed, in their hours of domestic privacy, to engage in theological discussions with the king, and maintained her opinions, which frequently differed from his, with much eloquence and wit. This was no very prudent thing in the wife of Henry the Eighth, and Katharine soon experienced its danger. An absolute king was not likely to be long pleased with the contradiction of his views, and his displeasure was not lessened by the obvious superiority of those of his wife. On one occasion, she ventured to remonstrate with him on a proclamation recently issued, forbidding the use of an English version of the Scriptures which he had previously sanctioned. The pain of an ulcerated leg inflamed at the time the constitutional irascibility of Henry, who showed symptoms of displeasure, and remarked, on Katharine's leaving the room, 'A good hearing it is when women become such clerks; and much to my comfort, to come in mine old age to be taught by my wife.' Gardiner was present, and instantly took advantage of the wounded pride of his master. Now was his hour, and he was not the man to let it escape him. Artfully adapting himself to the present humour of Henry, he declared 'that his majesty excelled the princes of that and every other age, as well as all the professed doctors of divinity, inasmuch that it was unseemly for any of his subjects to argue with him so malapertly as the queen had just done. That it was grievous for any of his counsellors to hear it done, since those who were so bold in words, would not scruple to proceed to acts of disobedience;' adding, 'that he could make great discoveries if he were not deterred by the queen's powerful faction.' Henry's pride was flattered by the address of his minister, and poor Katharine, little dreaming of the danger which threatened her, was committed to the tender mercies of the council. Providence,



however, interposed to baffle their designs, as the following brief extract will show :—

‘ At this momentous crisis, when the life of the queen might be said to hang on a balance so fearfully poised that the descent of a feather would have given it a fatal turn, the bill of articles that had been framed against her, together with the mandate for her arrest, were dropped by Wriothesley from his bosom, in the gallery at Whitehall, after the royal signature of the king had been affixed. Fortunately, it happened that it was picked up by one of the attendants of the queen, and instantly conveyed to her majesty, whose sweetness of temper and gracious demeanour had endeared her to all her household.’  
—p. 78.

On discovering the plot formed against her, the queen was deeply affected. The fate of her predecessors could not but recur to her, and she gave vent to her feelings in agonizing shrieks which reached the royal invalid, who fortunately occupied an adjoining apartment. ‘ Incommoded by the noise,’ as Lingard conjectures, ‘ Henry sent to inquire the cause of the disturbance, and was informed by his physician that the queen ‘ was dangerously ill, and that it appeared that her sickness was caused by distress of mind.’ This intelligence touched his brutal heart, and probably awakened a deeper sense than he had previously entertained of the value of her services. He was carried into her apartment, and found her ‘ heavy and melancholy.’ ‘ Katharine Parr,’ as Miss Strickland shrewdly remarks, ‘ had been twice married before, and being a woman of great sense and observation, had acquired greater experience in adapting herself to the humour of her froward lord, than either the gay, reckless coquette, Anne Boleyn, or the young unlettered Howard.’ With that skill of which her sex are pre-eminently masters, the queen adapted herself to the humour of the king, and evidently succeeded in mollifying his displeasure, and in restoring much of the good understanding which previously existed.

‘ The next evening the queen found herself well enough to return the king’s visit in his bedchamber. She came attended by her sister, Lady Herbert, and the king’s young niece, Lady Jane Gray, who carried the candles before her majesty. Henry welcomed her very courteously, and appeared to take her attention in good part; but presently turned the conversation to the old subject of controversy, for the purpose of beguiling her into an argument. Katharine wittily excused herself from the snare by observing, that she was but a woman, accompanied with all the imperfections natural to the weakness of her sex; therefore, in all matters of doubt and difficulty, she must refer herself to his majesty’s better judgment, as to her lord and head; ‘ for so God hath appointed you,’ continued she, ‘ as the supreme head of us all, and of you, next unto God, will I ever learn.’

‘Not so, by St. Mary,’ said the king; ‘ye are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us, and not to be instructed of us, as oftentime we have seen.’ ‘Indeed,’ replied the queen, ‘if your majesty have so conceived, my meaning has been mistaken, for I have always held it preposterous for a woman to instruct her lord; and if I have ever presumed to differ with your highness on religion, it was partly to obtain information for my own comfort, regarding certain nice points on which I stood in doubt, and sometimes because I perceived, that in talking, you were better able to pass away the pain and weariness of your present infirmity, which encouraged me to this boldness, in the hope of profiting withal by your majesty’s learned discourse.’ ‘And is it so, sweetheart!’ replied the king; ‘then are we perfect friends.’ He then kissed her with much tenderness, and gave her leave to depart.

‘On the day appointed for her arrest, the king, being convalescent, sent for the queen to take the air with him in the garden. Katharine came, attended as before, by her sister, Lady Jane Gray, and Lady Tyrwhit. Presently, the lord chancellor Wriothesley, with forty of the guard, entered the garden, with the expectation of carrying off the queen to the Tower, for he had not received the slightest intimation of the change in the royal caprice. The king received him with a burst of indignation, saluted him with the unexpected address of ‘Beast, fool, and knave,’ and sternly withdrawing him from the vicinity of the queen, he bade him ‘avaunt from his presence.’ Katharine, when she saw the king so greatly incensed with the chancellor, had the magnanimity to intercede for her foe, saying, ‘she would become a humble suitor for him, as she deemed his fault was occasioned by mistake.’

‘Ah! poor soul,’ said the king, ‘thou little knowest, Kate, how evil he deserveth this grace at thy hands. On my word, sweetheart, he hath been to thee a very knave!’—pp. 81, 82.

We need not pursue the narrative of Katharine’s subsequent life, but must hasten on to notice the other biography contained in this volume.

Mary was born at Greenwich Palace, February 18, 1516, under circumstances which promised an entire exemption from those painful vicissitudes which marked her life. Negotiations for her marriage with the heir of Francis I. were carried on while she was yet in her cradle, and on the failure of these, a treaty with the Emperor Charles V., then in his twenty-third year, was actually signed at Windsor in 1522. The subsequent course of Henry’s domestic policy was alleged by the emperor as the ground of his breaking this contract of betrothal, though other considerations undoubtedly influenced his decision. The education of the princess, after the fashion of the times, taxed her strength beyond the prudent point, and probably laid the foundation for that melancholy temperament and broken health which beclouded her after days. Whilst the marriage of her mother was undisputed, the highest honours of the state were conferred upon Mary, and visions of future power rose up to delude and

flatter her youthful mind. Her father appears to have loved her as warmly as his base nature permitted. He was yet unsteeped in crime, and there is good reason to believe that the parental feeling was strongly developed. His affection for his daughter at first embarrassed him in the course of his nefarious policy against her mother, but soon gave way to the stronger and more selfish passions which had attained the ascendancy. Mary's sympathies were naturally with her mother, which could not but enrage the brutal mind of Henry, who knew no mercy where his policy or his passions were concerned. Destitute himself of all the better feelings of our nature, he cared not about those of others. The mother and the daughter were therefore separated from each other, and no attention was paid to the frequent and urgent entreaties of the former, when, conscious of her approaching death, she eagerly sought permission to see her child.

The birth of the Princess Elizabeth exercised for a time a disastrous influence on the fortunes of Mary. The crown was settled by Act of Parliament on the children of Anne Boleyn, in consequence of which, Mary's princely establishment at Beaulieu was broken up, and she herself was transferred to Hunsdon, where the infant Elizabeth resided in royal state. 'The two melancholy years,' remarks Miss Strickland, 'which Mary spent at Hunsdon, under the surveillance of her step-mother, were passed in sorrow and suffering.' The king endeavoured to extort from her an admission of her own illegitimacy, which the princess, —more from regard to her mother's honour than to her own interests—firmly refused. Murderous threats were in consequence uttered against her, which the base sycophants of Henry's court re-echoed with applause. 'If she will not be obedient to his grace,' said the treasurer, Fitz William, 'I would that her head was from her shoulders, that I might toss it here with my foot.' Years passed on without bringing to the youthful princess relief from present insult, or hope of future redress. She had but few friends about her to counsel her inexperience, or to forewarn her of the snares by which the tortuous and wicked policy of her father encompassed her. The infant Elizabeth was in her turn illegitimated like herself, for Jane Seymour had become the reigning beauty, and a supple parliament substituted her offspring for those of Anne Boleyn. Mary was required to sign a document, declaring her mother's marriage to be incestuous and illegal, her own birth illegitimate, and her father's supremacy over the church absolute. She demurred to these articles, and received from Cromwell, who had succeeded to Wolsey's power, an insolent letter, which might well fill her with dread.

'Wherefore, madam,' said the unscrupulous minister, 'to be plain with you, as God is my witness, I think you the most



obstinate and obdurate woman, all things considered, that ever was, and one that is so persevering, deserveth the extremity of mischief.' Mary was terrified by this letter into signing the articles which she had previously rejected. Her conduct in doing so has been severely censured, and is clearly incapable of vindication; but the circumstances of the case, her youth, inexperience, and solitariness, may well be admitted to plead on her behalf, and to extenuate somewhat the insincerity of her conduct. During the remainder of her father's life, Mary conformed to his ecclesiastical measures. Her attachment to the papacy was well known; yet like most of the ecclesiastics of her day, she practically deemed the will of the monarch absolute in matters of religion.

On the accession of her brother, Edward VI., a brighter prospect opened upon her, which, however, was destined to be beclouded by religious controversies and intolerance. The princess was invited to court by the young king, and the royal family passed some time together on the most affectionate terms. The views of Mary and her brother were, however, too much opposed, and the spirit of the age was too narrow and intolerant to permit a continuance of this intimacy. Refusing to adopt the new service book in 1549, she appealed to the Emperor Charles V. for protection from the constraint which the council threatened. His interposition was successful, and Mary for a time was permitted to remain at peace. Two years afterwards, however, she was called before her brother to answer for contumacy, to whom she replied, 'That her soul was God's, and her faith she would not change, nor dissemble her opinion with contrary doings.' It was strange that the remembrance of this interview, and of her own noble avowal, did not recur to her in subsequent times, when her protestant subjects were required to adopt her papal creed. But so it is. Let princes and priests combine together, and the result has ever been a forgetfulness of the lessons which adversity teaches, and a practical exercise of coercion and wrong. A state church has always been a persecuting church to the full extent that public opinion permitted, and it would be unnatural were it not so. The alliance is itself unholy, and its fruits are bitter and calamitous.

The ambassador of Charles V. threatened war if the princess were not permitted to maintain the forms of her own worship. The king, however, was obstinate, and the mode adopted by the council to induce his acquiescence, is strikingly illustrative of the miserable shifts to which good men are sometimes reduced by an erroneous theory. Cranmer, Ridley, and Poinet, were deputed by the council to wait upon Edward. 'They told him,' says Burnet, 'that it was always a sin in a prince to permit any sin;

but to give a connivance, that is, not to punish, was not always a sin, since sometimes a lesser evil connived at, might easily prevent a greater. He was overcome by this; yet not so easily but that he burst forth in tears, lamenting his sister's obstinacy, and that he must suffer her to continue in so abominable a way of worship as he esteemed the mass.\* This connivance was but short lived, for a few months afterwards the celebration of mass in her household was prohibited, and some of her officers, together with her chaplain, were sent to the Tower for disobedience to the mandate of the council. These circumstances must, in fairness, be borne in mind, when a judgment is pronounced on the unhappy and disastrous reign of Mary. They soured her temper, estranged her from the charities of life, and prepared her to be the ready instrument of an intolerant and unrelenting party when the day of its ascendancy came round. That day was much nearer than her persecutors imagined, for the death of her brother, which occurred in 1553, opened the way for Mary's accession, and another change instantly passed upon the spirit of the nation. Her professions were at first mild and tolerant, and though Miss Strickland endeavours to vindicate her from the charge of insincerity arising from them, her defence is by no means satisfactory. The counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, which rallied early round her standard, and in reality placed her on the throne, were chiefly protestant, and to them assurances were given, which were afterwards but poorly kept. Her position was critical, and she acted with consummate art. Some of her protestant subjects saw through the disguise, and anticipated what followed, but others were imposed on by the fair semblance of the young princess. On arriving at the Tower she assured the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London 'that though her own conscience was staid in matters of religion, yet she meaneth graciously not to compel or strain other people's consciences otherwise than God shall, as she trusteth, put in their hearts a persuasion of the truth.† It may be that in the first flush of her gratitude she intended much of this. We need not recur to the supposition—for the honour of human nature we are unwilling to do so—that her words were feigned, and her professions but a farce. It is enough that her promises were not kept, that her professions were openly and cruelly belied. Her reign was emphatically a reign of blood. Many of the best men of England yielded up their lives in discharge of their religious obligations, and Mary is stamped in English history with a character the most unfeminine and repulsive.

We are willing to believe that this state of things resulted

\* History of Reformation, ii., 275.

† Ibid. iii., 331.

rather from a vicious theory and the bad spirit of her advisers, than from her personal qualities, but cannot hold her to be so guiltless as our author contends. All her designs and hopes were, from the moment of her accession, centred in the restoration of the papal faith, and the moderation observed was only maintained so long as was necessary to prepare measures for the persecution which followed. Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, Coverdale of Exeter, Bradford, Rogers the proto-martyr, and other eminent protestants, were committed to prison during the first month of the queen's residence in London; and shortly afterwards Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were sent to the Tower. The part taken on behalf of Lady Jane Gray was alleged as the ground of some of these imprisonments; but the proceedings subsequently taken against the parties, proved that the zeal exhibited on behalf of the Reformation was the real cause of their arrest. In the month of October parliament assembled to react the obsequious part of their predecessors, and King Edward's laws respecting religion were, as a matter of course, annulled, and ecclesiastical affairs were restored to the condition in which Henry left them.

The ill-conducted revolt of Sir Thomas Wyatt afforded the pretext which Mary's counsellors desired for resorting to severer measures. Wyatt was undoubtedly a catholic, though it is exceedingly difficult to determine whether he belonged to the anti-papal party of Henry, or to the adherents of the papacy. The avowed ground of his revolt was the projected marriage of Mary with Philip of Spain, which Wyatt, together with the great body of the English nation, regarded with alarm and detestation. The papal party, however, availed themselves of the opportunity which the insurrection furnished, to charge the protestants with disloyalty, and Gardiner was foremost in urging the necessity of adopting severer measures against them. The execution of Lady Jane Gray, and the arrest of the princess Elizabeth, followed the suppression of the revolt, and betokened, especially the former, the sanguinary counsels which prevailed. A visitation of the clergy was also appointed, and vast numbers were ejected, some on the ground of their marriage, and others for their known attachment to the protestant doctrines. Burnet calculates the number of the ejected clergy to have been somewhat below three thousand, but Lingard contends that it did not exceed fifteen hundred. The way having been thus prepared, Cardinal Pole arrived in England in November 1554, on a special embassy from the Pope, to reconcile the nation to the papal see; immediately after which a bill was passed through both houses, for reviving the statutes of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V., against heretics. The work of persecution now proceeded with murderous rapidity, and the common sense and



humanity of the nation were outraged by the spectacles daily exhibited. Miss Strickland, who takes on every point, the ultra-favourable view of Mary's character, attributes the whole blame of this persecution to the violence of her counsellors, and the sanguinary temper of Philip. To a considerable extent we concur with her in the line of her argumentation, though compelled to stop short of the conclusion at which she arrives. Mary was not naturally cruel, and would probably have been contented, had her inclination alone been followed, with less sanguinary measures. Yet it is impossible to free her from the charge of readily yielding to the violent counsels of her advisers. Her creed was intolerant, and her bigotry had been fomented by the scenes through which she had passed. So early as November 1554, she returned the following answer to a communication from her council, who had addressed her on the subject of inflicting the extreme penalty of the law on heretics. 'We think it ought to be done without rashness, not leaving in the mean time to do justice to such as by learning would seem to deceive the simple; and the rest so to be used that the people might well perceive them not to be condemned without just occasion; by which they shall both understand the truth, and beware not to do the like. And especially within London I would wish none to be burnt without some of the council's presence, and both there and everywhere good sermons at the same time.\* In May of the following year, even Bonner was reprimanded in the name of the king and queen for want of diligence in enforcing the persecuting statutes. 'The delay of its commencement,' remarks Sir James Mackintosh, when referring to this persecution, 'is imputable to no cause but the impossibility of adopting it, till the formalities of the national reconciliation with Rome were completed.†

The persecution continued with unabated severity to the close of Mary's life in 1558, and the whole number burnt during that period, is stated by Strype, whose calculation differs very slightly from that of Fox and Burnet, to have been two hundred and eighty-eight. Lord Burleigh, who had the best means of informing himself accurately on this subject, states the number who died during this reign by imprisonment, torments, famine, and fire, to be near four hundred. Dr. Lingard, indeed, whose able volumes are disgraced by a blind spirit of partizanship, endeavours to reduce the number of the sufferers, and thus to lessen our abhorrence of the spirit which actuated the policy of his church. His reasoning, however, is wholly unsatisfactory, and has availed but little for the party on whose behalf it is urged. The main instruments of the persecution

\* Lingard, vol. vii., p. 260.

† History of England, vol. ii., p. 329.

were Gardiner and Bonner, whose proceedings betokened the mixture of personal animosity with religious rancour. They had both suffered deprivation and imprisonment during the reign of Edward, and now evinced the bitterness of revenge, as well as the ferocious and blood thirsty propensities of the bigot. The former was an able but unscrupulous courtier; the latter, 'whom all generations,' says Fuller, 'shall call bloody,' was of a nature so detestable as to have found his happiness in inflicting upon others the bitterest pangs of which their nature was susceptible. Their measures recoiled upon themselves, and rendered utterly hopeless the permanent triumph of their church. 'It was an unusual and ungrateful thing,' says Burnet, 'to the English nation, that is apt to compassionate all in misery, to see four, five, six, seven, and once thirteen, burning in one fire, and the sparing neither sex nor age, nor blind nor lame, but making havoc of all equally; but above all, the barbarity of Guernsey raised that horror in the whole nation, that there seems, ever since that time, such an abhorrence to that religion to be derived down from father to son, that it is no wonder an aversion so deeply rooted, and raised upon such grounds, does, upon every new provocation, break out in most violent and convulsive symptoms.'

Of the personal character of the queen it is not necessary that we should say anything; and of her foreign policy it is sufficient to remark, that it was as short-sighted and inglorious as her ecclesiastical administration was sanguinary. Some few points, however, of her administration are entitled to praise, in justice to which we transfer the following extract to our pages:—

'Although every generous feeling is naturally roused against the horrid cruelties perpetrated in her name, yet it is unjust and ungrateful to mention her maiden reign with unqualified abhorrence; for if the tyrannical laws instituted by her father had remained a few years more in force, the representative government of England would gradually have withered under the terrors of imprisonments and executions without impartial trial, and regal despotism would have been as successfully established here as it was in France and Spain by the descendants of Henry VIII.'s associates, Francis I. and Charles V. This change arose from the queen's own ideas of rectitude; for the majority of her councillors, judges, and aristocracy, had as strong a tendency to corrupt and slavish principles as the worst enemy to national freedom could wish.

'Many wholesome laws were made or revived by her; among others, justices of the peace were enjoined to take the examination of felons in writing, at the same time binding witnesses over to prosecute; without these regulations, a moment's reflection will shew, that much malignant accusation might take place in a justice room, unless witnesses were bound to prove their words. All landholders and householders were made proportionably chargeable to the repair of roads. The gaols were

in a respectable state ; since Fox allows, that the persons imprisoned for conscience sake were treated humanely in the prisons under royal authority, while the persecuting bishops made noisome confinement part of the tortures of the unhappy protestants.

‘Queen Mary is commended for the merciful provision she made for the poor; there is, however, no trace of poor-rates, levied from the community at large, like those established by her sister Elizabeth, at the close of the sixteenth century. But that the poor were relieved by Mary is evident, by the entire cessation of those insurrections, on account of utter destitution, which took place in her father’s and brother’s reigns, and now and then under the sway of Elizabeth. This is more singular, since corn was at famine price throughout the chief part of Mary’s reign, owing to a series of inclement years and wet harvests. It seems likely that part of the church lands she restored, were devoted to the relief of the destitute, since very few monasteries were re-founded. In her reign was altered that mysterious law, called benefit of clergy. It had originated in the earliest dawn of civilization, when the church snatched from the tyranny of barbarous and ignorant chiefs all prisoners or victims who could read, and claiming them as her own, asserted the privilege of bringing them to trial. Thus were the learned judged by the learned, and the ignorant left to the mercies of those savage as themselves. The law tended wonderfully to the encouragement of learning, in times when not one out of two thousand laymen knew a letter in the book. Since the comparative cessation from civil war, after the accession of Queen Mary’s grandfather, general knowledge had surged forward in such mighty waves, that the law of benefit of clergy, with many others of high utility, five centuries before, were left without an object, their actual purposes having ebbed away in the transitions of the times. The law of sanctuary was one of these. Mary wished, when she re-founded the monastery of Westminster, for the privileges of its sanctuary to be abolished; but sergeant Plowden made a stand for them, on legal grounds.’—pp. 421—423.

It is common with Catholic writers to urge, in extenuation of the enormities of Mary’s reign, that she lived ‘in an age of religious intolerance, when to punish the professors of erroneous doctrine, was inculcated as a duty no less by those who rejected, than by those who asserted the papal authority.’\* There is some force in this plea, yet not to the extent that the catholic advocate alleges. The clergy of Edward VI. had deeply criminated themselves by urging forward the burning of Joan Bocher and Van Paré, and it is folly to attempt to extenuate their guilt. Their creed was as intolerant as that of their papal opponents, but their hearts were too humane, their spirit partook too much of the temper of the gospel, to permit them to exult in legal butcheries as did their successors. ‘Truth and justice,’ remarks one of the most candid of our historians, ‘require it to be positively pronounced that

\* Lingard, vol. viii., p. 257.



Gardiner and Bonner cannot plead the example of Cranmer and Latimer, for the bloody persecution which involved in its course the destruction of the protestant prelates. The anti-trinitarian, and the ana-baptist, if they had regained power, might indeed have urged such a mitigation, but the Roman-catholic had not even the odious excuse of retaliation.\* It is in vain to attempt the vindication of Cranmer and his brethren. Their conduct was clearly indefensible, and ought to be condemned. They knew as little about religious liberty as their opponents, but their hearts were better than their creed, and hence it was that they shrunk from what Gardiner and Bonner exulted in. It is injustice to the living to bepraise the dead for virtues which they did not possess; and we shall act a better part, one in stricter keeping with the truth of history, if we admit the faults of both, and learn from the mischiefs which flowed from their errors, the folly and the crime of permitting fallible men to enforce their dogmas by the pains and penalties of this world.

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Art. VI. *The Reconciler: An Attempt to Exhibit in a somewhat New Light, the Harmony and Glory of the Divine Government, and of the Divine Sovereignty.* By a Quadragenarian in the Ministry. 8vo. London: Jackson and Walford.

THE law which regulates the fluctuations and oscillations of human minds, in the reception or rejection of systems and theories, or in the predilection which one age shows for speculation and another for action, is as curious, perhaps we might say as mysterious and inexplicable, as any that is disclosed in the history of nations and ages.

None can deny the fact, that systems of human opinions wax and wane; nor that this is as apparent in reference to theories of religious sentiment, as in those which pertain to purely human science. The doctrines, for instance, of the Millennarians have almost regularly appeared and disappeared in Christendom once or twice in every century since the apostolic age. The theological systems known by the names of Calvinism and Arminianism, as well before as since the times of the two authors whose names have bequeathed a cognomen to their respective theories, have witnessed, in nearly all the christianized nations, alternate eras of triumph and decadence. That system of ecclesiastical usurpation and high-churchmanship, known by the name of Popery, once universally dominant, was supposed to have received its death blow at the Reformation. But the wound of the beast has been

healed, at least in part and for a season. Its vigour has for some time been returning. A large body of the recreant sons of the reformation have already, in heart, made their peace with the apostasy, and seem only awaiting a more favourable conjuncture of affairs, to harmonize their interests with their convictions. Although we may hope that this can only prove a temporary resuscitation—a mere prelude, intended by Providence to give impression and effect to that final overthrow which is obviously foreshown in prophetic vision—yet it is a signally instructive memento of the vicissitudes of religious opinion. Fifty years ago popery seemed rapidly declining, and had become the least likely of all systems to regain a complete and extensive ascendancy over the minds of men. Through nearly the whole of this period the speedy downfall and disappearance of the system might have been confidently augured. The portents thickened around its head, while destruction, like the earthquake, passed under its feet and muttered from beneath. But in the midst of a blazing era of biblical light, when the British and Foreign Bible Society had been pouring forth in every direction the beams of celestial radiance, who could have expected so sudden, so extensive a revulsion of opinion? Who could have anticipated that so dark and threatening a cloud would arise and spread over that very land which had been as the morning to all the other nations of the earth? In a similar manner we have seen, in the course of the seventeenth century, first a period of cold and heartless speculation in religion following an age of libertinism, and succeeded by one of dry and fruitless formality. Then burst forth the happy revival, under Whitefield and Wesley, from that very university which is now, at scarce the distance of a century, producing anti-reformers in an abundance and efficiency beyond all former precedent.

The evangelical reformation under the Methodists, Calvinistic and Arminian, proceeded with difficulty; the laughing world and the sanctimonious church were both opposed to it. Yet it effected glorious and blessed changes both in the religion and morality of the nation. Its career was in some measure impeded by the opposition of the higher classes and the influence of the bishops. But it was too strong to be put down by authority, or materially retarded by either reasoning or ridicule. Yet even this season of apostolic zeal and activity was followed by one of sharp controversy upon the Arminian and Calvinistic theories, which, in some measure repressed or diverted its energies, until that controversy, having exhausted itself, or being subdued by the glowing and ardent spirit of evangelical zeal, was again succeeded by a still more remarkable and general awakening of all the orthodox Christian bodies to the generous work of spreading

the knowledge of the gospel to those heathen nations which had hitherto engaged but little attention or pity in the protestant church.

This era has now been advancing for more than forty years, and the rising symptoms and prognostications of the church are at present evidently changing. Different Christian communities are assuming a more warlike character than may seem favourable to the prosecution of those noble plans which embrace the conversion of the world and the advent of the Millennium. The convulsed and transitive state of the presbyterian establishment of Scotland, the rise and prevalence in it of a more spiritual and efficient theology, as well as its struggles for ecclesiastical independence, augur an important and extensive change. The fearful decline of the church of England towards the vortex of all corruptions, is another symptom of a momentous revolution of opinion. Both these unexpected and astounding facts, illustrating generally the variations of human systems of opinion, and particularly the mischiefs of religious establishments, and their needless encumbrance and annoyance to the civil state and its ministers, ought to convince thoughtful men of all parties, of the absurdity of connecting the state with any church, and of the extensive mischiefs which invariably befall Christianity itself in all such connexions. Its injury is the natural and necessary result; its advantage and success are only accidents that may possibly, in a very partial and limited manner, accompany such an alliance.

But one other important lesson is to be derived from the present condition of our two national churches—pointing as these now do in opposite directions—the one to more liberty, the other to less—the one to evangelical piety, and the other to formalism and superstition. They serve, in some respects, to neutralize each other; but above all, they illustrate, by contrast, the beauty, peacefulness, and energy of pure and simple Christianity, left to work out its own ends by its own authenticated means, unsupplemented by human laws and civil power. If men were now at length wise, surely they might learn to attach less importance to human legislation in the affairs of Christ's kingdom, seeing that both established churches are convulsed and weakened by fierce controversies, almost to ecclesiastical revolution, from their centre to their circumference. Every zealous Christian who pants to behold and to accelerate the conversion of the world, might fairly learn from these events to attach far higher importance than ever to those spiritual and evangelical energies, which, being happily unshackled by state-alliances, and girt with the purely apostolic panoply, stand forth in the might and majesty of the simple truth of God, ready to accomplish the high behest of their



divine and almighty Sovereign, in conveying the gospel to the world.

But we must recall our thoughts from the general and boundless subject of the mental and religious vicissitudes of nations and masses of men, to a limited section—that which relates to the Calvinistic and Arminian systems.

And here we may be permitted to observe that, with but very partial exceptions, of an occasional explosion, a skirmish here, or a sally there, the world has latterly seen comparatively little fighting between these two great sections of the Christian body. What there has been, we are gratified to observe, wears a character on both sides of a vastly improved description. But the age of missionary and biblical enterprise has monopolized the zeal and talent of the respective parties, and brought with it an indisposition for controversy and speculation. We are all, or nearly all, practical men, and have little time and less inclination for refined or erudite, or metaphysical argumentation. Action is the character of the age we live in, and everything now is valued by its results. The inquiry of the church, as well as the world, is after the *useful* rather than the *exact*. Such is the feeling, if not the language, of the men who are leading Israel's hosts. The battle has been long turned, not indeed by very harmonious or combined efforts, but at least by simultaneous ones, from all the tribes against the powers of darkness. We have sympathized heartily in the general and generous movement, and could have been well content that it should proceed without diversion or division. But it is evident either that interruption in the great work is about to take place, or that some sharp and important controversies must proceed at the same time with it; probably these are required to prepare the way for ushering in that blessed era of the world's renovation, which all are anticipating, though with very different views and feelings, and in connexion with theories that stand at the antipodes to each other.

It is evident that some old controversies must be extensively renewed, and some new ones commenced. The conflict with the avowed and the concealed spirit of popery is daily becoming more determined, more serious, and more extensive. The leaven of Rome is proceeding not only unchecked by the authorities of the English church, but emboldened by the timid and partial rebukes that have been administered. There has been no combined or authoritative check given to it. It has now 'leavened' *nearly* 'the whole lump.' Sound protestants will soon have to make common cause against a foe that never moves but with the terrible force of a giant, and never has made, and never will make scruple of any measures to effect his object.

The establishment controversy, with the popish and semi-

popish, must proceed; and it is not improbable that other controversies of a less momentous character will be revived in the coming times, and be conducted by the smaller bands and parties of the religious community. If these are unavoidable, all we can desire and recommend is, that they be conducted in a spirit of candour and fairness; with the consciousness, notwithstanding the character of opponents, which the respective parties feel themselves constrained to assume, that, nevertheless, *they are brethren*.

We cannot affect any displacency at such calm and dignified publications as have tended latterly to recall attention to the doctrines of Calvinism, modified and explained, harmonized and guarded, as it has been by modern divines of different protestant denominations. Our suspicion is that, among the rising ministry there has been felt, or there is commencing, a distaste for the divinity of Howe, Leighton, and Doddridge, and that a tinge of Arminian sentiment is becoming visible, not so much in any open attacks upon the characteristic doctrines of our churches, as in a partial exclusion of them, and substitution of others which are valued for the sake of their supposed greater practical efficiency. It is not for us to insinuate doubts or charges, neither would we whisper a word of alarm; yet with our eyes and our ears open to what is passing in the church as well as in the world, we should not be faithful to our office, as in some sense conservators of religious truth, and pledged to those views of it held sacred by the evangelical dissenting bodies, if we did not candidly say that there is quite room now for a careful revision of the Calvinistic and Arminian controversy. Rationalism from Germany has assuredly made us very little wiser, and certainly none the better; while *practicalism*, (so to call it for want of a better term) from America, has induced some men to decline from the humbling doctrines of Scripture towards theories, which, according to our view, are neither consistent with themselves, nor with that supreme standard to which they ought to be accurately conformed.

It will do the church of Christ, at the present moment, no injury to have its attention directed to some of these theories of doctrine, and to try them again by the unerring test. It is quite true, and we subscribe to it cheerfully, that practical and experimental religion constitute the use and end, and entire value of all religion; and that, apart from these, speculation and theory are worthless. Yet at the same time, the principles or truths of religion stand in the same relation to practice and experience that the root or stock of a tree bears to its foliage and fruit. These may cover and in part conceal the rough trunk and stem, but it is that trunk or stem which bears and ministers life to that foliage and fruit. The efficiency of the Christian ministry is not

to be sustained without clear and comprehensive views of divine truth. Nothing but the sentiments of God's own word, impressed upon the human mind, can ever produce a healthful piety, or build up the church upon the rock that never can be moved. Let the skin and the flesh cover the unsightly bones, but let it not be forgotten that those bones give support and strength to the whole body.

Such writers as Fuller, Wardlaw, Russell, and Payne, have done eminent service by their clear and scriptural expositions of doctrine. It is, however, undeniable, that they, as well as all their predecessors, have left many deep theological problems unsolved. The Bible has left them so, at least as far as human exposition can determine; for though age after age has grappled with them, they remain much as they were in the days of Augustine and Pelagius. We are quite willing calmly to hear and candidly to weigh whatever can be advanced towards their elucidation. But we cannot say that we are much more hopeful of their complete solution than of the discovery of the philosopher's stone or the perpetual motion; both of which, if the trumpet of fame did but always speak truth, or did not frequently contradict itself, have been discovered more than once.

The learned and very able controversy which was carried on some five and thirty years ago, principally by several of the tutors of the dissenting colleges, and which commenced with Dr. Edward Williams, of Rotherham, seems to have produced a general and almost settled conviction, that we must just take up the moral government of God and the condition of human nature where they are taken up, and as they are taken up, in the Scriptures. We may, if we are so disposed, indulge in excursive reasonings, and disport our intellect and our imagination in subtle, or, as we may deem them, sublime and useful speculations. But we believe we express the opinion of the most candid and capable judges when we say, that faint indeed is the light that has been struck out by the labours of metaphysical divines and philosophers; and that no addition to our stock of important truth, appreciable at least by common minds, has been made by all the theories which have been broached with a view to explain the origin of evil, or to reconcile it with moral government, beyond the plain statement of facts contained in the holy Scriptures. There are various questions of this nature to which it seems no satisfactory answer can be given in the present state of human knowledge. Perhaps they are placed in that region of darkness which everywhere surrounds and presses upon the little sphere of human intellect, both as a punishment for primeval apostasy, and as a perpetual check to the pride of human reason. They serve at least to remind the most prying and adventurous



minds, that there are some thoughts and some proceedings of the Almighty that refuse to disclose their reasons at our bidding, and decline to offer their defence before our judgment seat. Of such the exposition may very reasonably be deferred until the Day shall declare it, upon the credit of that maxim, 'Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?'

The devout and modest investigation, however, of all that is revealed, belongs to us and to our children. Yet it behoves us to remember, that the legitimate sphere of moral and religious truth, within which our understandings may be profitably engaged, seems to be limited to the Bible: and with that all minds that know themselves, and wish devoutly and humbly to know their God, will be content. But in saying this we distinctly intend to admit the legitimacy of all modest efforts to harmonize the ascertained truths of revelation with human reason; as well as of all questions directed to the ascertainment of the truths themselves, which are ostensibly conveyed to us by revelation. Inspiration itself presupposes the exercise of such reason, although at the same time it alleges the perversion of the mind and heart through the influence of inordinate affection, and brings supreme authority to control and regulate reason, by restoring to it its proper dominion in the soul. *Right* reason, therefore, can be guilty of no hostility against the *dicta* of revelation. The eye might as well quarrel with the light. Reason must itself become the avenue through which the light of divine truth essays to pass, in order to fill and irradiate the mind. The province of reason, therefore, is, in reference to this subject, certainly not to set up its own standard and explain revelation by what is conceived to be reasonable, excepting so far as to predetermine that nothing directly and strictly contrary to reason can be a dictate of revelation; but to employ its utmost vigour in ascertaining, according to the most fair and candid exegesis, the sense of the inspired documents, and to afford such assistance in evincing the harmony of revelation with itself, and with the admitted principles of human nature, as may lie within the compass and reach of finite faculties. It may be wisely and graciously ordained, that some truths of revelation shall not lie upon the surface, or that their supports and connecting links and joints shall be hidden from superficial attention; just as the laws and many of the more important phenomena of the physical universe are concealed under a surface of external beauty and order, to awaken curiosity, to reward inquiry, and to delight the modest and diligent student of nature. Something is thus left for every age to do; something for every mind to work out for itself, whereby a charm and an attraction will be perpetually attached to the study of revealed religion, which it could not have exerted, had the whole

theory of moral and religious truth appeared before us stereotyped from the first, and bequeathed from generation to generation, with nothing for the intellect to do but acquiesce directly in statements as clear and definite as those conveyed by numbers, or exhibited in geometrical demonstrations. If the possibility, therefore, of entertaining different views of particular statements, and of the bearing of one statement upon another, in the harmony of the entire scheme of revelation with itself and with human reason, is attended with the inconvenience of perpetual controversy, it yet amply counterbalances and repays the inconvenience by the excitement—the salutary and noble excitement—which it affords to human intellect; the test it supplies of the devout affections; and the constant pleasure it ministers to the mind in the pursuits of sacred science, and gradual discovery of the benevolent counsels of the Deity. It is, no doubt, in one view to be deplored, that any pious and upright mind should feel constrained to take opposite views of divine truth from another mind equally pious and conscientious; but we have never been able to conceive how this should be avoided, under the present disordered state of human nature, without destroying our mental idiosyncrasy, reducing all intellects to one standard, and presenting divine truth to them in one invariable shape or determinate quantity. In such a case, the human mind would stagnate, would cease to be conscious of progression, and would discover nothing to gratify its curiosity or awaken its energies.

Supposing this to have been the case with religion alone, and every other department of thought to have been left open to inquiry and advancement, religion would have become the least interesting, the most distasteful of our mental occupations—if, indeed, it could at all have deserved the name of a mental occupation. Happily, it is far otherwise, and every thoughtful person must assent to the proposition that, all things considered, it is better and wiser that we should suffer the inconveniences of religious controversy, than that it should have been prevented at such a cost as we have supposed.

The amiable and venerable author of the work before us has thought it desirable at the present time to publish a defence of moderate Calvinism, and, in particular, to show that this is in the main the system taught by God in the Holy Scriptures. The general character of the work is that of a strictly scriptural argument. He enters little into the philosophy of the system; nor does he much concern himself with the harmony which it would be desirable to illustrate between human ideas of moral government and the doctrines of revealed religion. His chief effort throughout is to bring forward and array, in the most clear and forcible manner, the testimony of revelation. His own theory

appears to be what is generally denominated, modern Calvinism, symbolizing in the main with the late Andrew Fuller and other divines of his class.

We have felt much pleasure in the perusal of the work, though we have not in all points felt satisfied with the issue of several arguments. It is not that we demur to the use the author has made of sacred scripture, for in the general, his quotations are forcible, satisfactory, and well selected; but we could have wished him to have done more in rebutting objections and removing difficulties. His design, however, appears to have restricted his investigation to the sense of Scripture, regardless of the points in which that might prove offensive to reason.

It cannot be expected that we should follow the author through the different stages of his argument. It will be sufficient that we express general approbation, especially as there is comparatively little with which any candid student of Scripture can quarrel. The great excellence of the book, next to its adherence to divine authority, is the amiable spirit in which the whole is written. Different readers may dissent from some statements, but the most determined enemy of the *Reconciler's* system will find nothing offensive in his manner of defending his own opinions, nor in the temper and spirit with which opposing sentiments are treated. If Calvinism, as here represented, cannot in all points be made harmonious with those views which reason suggests, it possesses at least the important recommendation, that it is incomparably more consonant with the testimony of Scripture than the contrary system of Arminianism.

We shall now proceed to lay before our readers the plan of the work. After a general introduction, the author treats in preliminary dissertations—the universal and particular aspect of the gospel—the human will—the divine will—human agency and divine agency—the connexion between the universal and particular aspect of the gospel, with answers to objections—the advantages of the scheme—the nature of probationary government. We then arrive at Part I., which proposes to treat ‘on the equitable and beneficent, but probationary government of God:’ or ‘a view of the divine government as designed for a testimony between God and man, and therefore necessarily probationary and conditional in its administration. A view of the basis and bearings of the plan here exhibited.’ This part of the work is divided into seven chapters, in the following order:—On God’s character and government—On man as a subject—On the probationary government designed for a testimony under its different successive administrations—Man’s conduct a provocation of God’s anger and condemnable—The inexcusableness of man, whether a heathen, Jew, or Christian—A guard set against evasions by a



distinct statement of what are not, and what are the reasons of man's impersuadableness and consequent unbelief—Concerning God's foresight of man's failure and disobedience.

We then come to what the author denominates the 'connecting link'—efficacious grace—the necessity of a sovereign interposition, and of a superadded dispensation of efficacious grace—a more particular view of this efficacious grace of the Holy Spirit—direct scriptural evidence.

Part II., or 'Book of Life.' The superadded dispensation of sovereign grace towards an elect people; God herein acting as a '*gracious Sovereign*.' This part is divided into three chapters:—1. On God's sovereignty in general. 2. The scriptural view of what has been called reprobation, &c. 3. The scriptural doctrine of election of persons and predestination to blessings, a doctrine of relief, not of terror. The whole is closed by four distinct chapters on election, designed to state it scripturally and to guard it against abuse and misconception.

As a specimen of the manner in which the work is executed, we beg to lay before our readers the following citation from the part in which is treated probationary government without a *written revelation*:—

'Man, although fallen, was yet a governable and an accountable creature, for he had yet a capacity of knowing God and his will so as to 'glorify him and be thankful,' and the means of such knowledge; he yet had a power of consideration so as to know what would be for his happiness or misery; and he had still the natural faculty of willing freely, or as he liked, choosing what might promote the former, or refusing what might occasion the latter; or, in other words, he knew how to 'refuse the good, and choose the evil.' Moreover, there was a resource for him in God, in case of needed help. Let us, then, now take a view of man's *condition*, of his *probation*, and then of the *testimony* borne on the result of such probation under this administration.

'1. Man's *condition* without *written* revelation. It will be allowed us to premise here that the Christian world in general does not appear to be sufficiently aware, not only of the extent to which gospel blessings were exhibited, and moral obligations inculcated in the heathen world, but of the extent to which the means of information were afforded them, in reference to the knowledge of God and his will. Without the inclosure of the invisible church in the descendants of Abraham, all are usually considered as outcasts, and as indiscriminately perishing; but if the Apostle Peter had thought so, would he have remarked, that 'in every nation, he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him?' Does not this remark imply, in the connexion of the words at least, that he supposed there were such characters in other nations, besides in that of the Jewish nation? It is true that there might be few; it is true also, that they would not be accepted, but in the name of the originally promised Redeemer; but

who can say, that such characters might not believe the original promise; and who can say, that it might not produce in them, as with us, a God-fearing life, though they knew not the identical person, or when or where he should come? We admit, also, that the apostle informs us that God 'left all nations to walk in their own ways;' but his saying so, in reference to later times—'times past'—does not prove that he considered him as having thus left them, ever since the fall. It was not so during that period of 1656 years before the flood; for we read of God's 'holy prophets since the world began;' and not only so, but of his Spirit striving with them. Nor was it so during that subsequent period of near one thousand years after the flood to Moses; for not only did the Lord 'smell a sweet savour' in Noah's burnt offering for the world,—not only did he promise not to drown it again, and give a token of mercy in the rainbow, and in the regular succession of seasons for man's good, but God *blessed* Noah and his sons as the new progenitors of the human race, and '*established his covenant*' with Noah and his sons, '*and their seed after them.*' Nor, in any period, or in any respect, did he abandon the world till they abandoned him, nor even then; for though Israel were separated as a *peculiar* people *above* all other nations, yet all the rest were people under his equitable and benevolent government still. It was not until the heathen failed to 'glorify God as God'—'became vain in their imaginations'—'changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things,' that 'God gave them up to uncleanness and vile affections;' it was not until they did not like to retain God in their knowledge that he 'gave them over to a reprobate mind.' It was not, in fact, from any unwillingness in God to bless them, but it was because, as the same apostle intimates, that they were disobedient or impersuadable to God,—first, as to the 'work of the law written by him in their heart;' and secondly, as to the knowledge they had of God from the 'things that are seen;' and thirdly, as to faith in the promised Redeemer, handed down to them by tradition. Then, and as such, they were 'left to walk in their own ways.' We observe, then,—

(1.) As to the *means of information in general*, fallen men and the nations were not wholly abandoned.

So far from it, God made the first overtures after the fall. Our parents fled from him, but he called them; and though he judged them, yet he promised them a Saviour, and clothed them, thus presenting the antidote as soon as the poison was received. For the sake of giving the subject clearness and interest, I will then suppose myself an 'antediluvian,' living during the 1656 years that elapsed before the flood, a period in which, from the longevity of man, tradition would be certain. Thus circumstanced, I have a day of rest sanctified and blessed by my Maker, in which I am led to meditate on him and his works, with places of assembly where I have the 'presence of the Lord.' I have a prophet or prophets, by whose mouth I hear truths and promises concerning the coming Redeemer—sacrifices are offered

to prefigure him, and priests appointed to intercede for me; and a distinction is made between clean and unclean animals, to instruct me in morals; and I am, moreover, taught by a most expressive event, even that of the translation of Enoch, that there is another and a better world, and, together with it, that there will be a final day of judgment, when 'the Lord will come with ten thousand of his saints' to judge the world. Moreover, the Spirit of God, by the word of the prophets, in connexion with his power upon my conscience and my thoughts, strives with me. Thus a fallen world was favoured.

'I will next suppose myself a *post-diluvian*, or one living from the time of the flood to that of Moses. And here I find things remaining as before, nothing withdrawn but the additional lesson of the flood, which, together with the disorders occasioned on the earth's surface, furnish me with a constant demonstration of God's abhorrence of sin, and his righteous vengeance on sinners. I find Noah's burnt offering, and the still continued practice of sacrificing proves to me a permanent memorial of the original promise, and the division of time into weeks, at the end of which, the Sabbath of the Lord, I find so observed as to maintain the true religion in the world. Hence, proceeding on to the time of Abraham, I see a Melchisedec, priest of the most high God; and soon afterwards, a Lot, offering up sacrifices, as also his friends living in his days. I see the rite of purification for sin at the sight of the 'Leviathan,' or in times of alarm and danger, at occurring events. There are those that 'go by the way' for instructing, and 'the commandment of God's mouth,' and 'the law of God's mouth' to be regarded. I hear Job speaking of a Redeemer living, and his resurrection—of 'day and night coming to an end'—of the 'day of wrath'—of the resurrection of the dead, and of the annihilation of the heavens. These, then, are the means of religion that I have, even irrespective of those granted to the visible church in Abraham and his family and posterity. And, surely then, I cannot say that God had abandoned the world at this period, however they might abandon him. Nor is that all. Where have we a more striking illustration of the doctrine of mediation, than that we have in the first and last chapters of the book of Job?

'Thus, then, we find that from the flood to the time of Moses, a period of eight or nine hundred years, the world was not destitute of means of information as to gospel truths; and from the time of Moses until Christ, they had their sacrifices, altars, priests, purifications, &c. Indeed, nothing was withdrawn from them; but they neglected and perverted what had been given to them. And although, after the lapse of 2500 years, an inclosure was made, called by the apostles a 'middle wall of partition,' yet that was not an inclosure of EXCLUSION, so much as an inclosure of *preservation*. For why did God make that inclosure? In other words, why did he establish a visible church in the posterity of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob? Not that the true religion might be *limited*, but that it might not be wholly *lost* in the world. Hence, the door was open for proselytes from any quarter of the world. The



gospel promise was given first to Adam, then to Noah. It was not taken away, but *secured* in the line of Shem; then again it was secured in the line of Abraham, afterwards of Isaac, and lastly, of Jacob; as if God should say, 'though men reject me, yet will I have a remnant—a church and people in the world.'—p. 143—148.

In closing our observations, we may be permitted to say, that the 'Reconciler' has endeavoured, with the best intentions, and we may add, with the most devout reverence for the authority of revelation, to justify the ways of God with men. He has done perhaps as much as in the present state of human knowledge is to be expected. We cannot say that we have met with anything particularly new, nor have we been quite satisfied with his arrangement and division of his subject. There is a want of clear analysis and order throughout the whole plan, and in a few instances, as we have thought, a misapplication of authorities. The discussion is sometimes needlessly incumbered, and the real points of difficulty, upon the Calvinistic hypothesis, are scarcely admitted as we think they ought to have been, and might have been, without prejudice to the general scheme. The bearing of scriptural authority, or its seeming hostility in some places to the system of our author, is not so fully and fairly met as we should have approved. Yet, upon the whole, the work will be read with advantage by men of all parties, principally for its exhibition of scriptural truth. For if the bearing of that testimony is not in all instances shown to comport with the deductions of natural reason, it is undoubtedly the part of sanctified reason rather to submit to the decisions of divine authority, and wait in faith for more instruction, than, by adhering to the inferences of reason, seem to treat with irreverence, or pervert by sophistry and subtlety, the dictates which cannot err and ought not to be impeached.

There are a few typographical and verbal inaccuracies which we should be glad to hear the author had obtained the opportunity of correcting in another edition. Young ministers and students of the denominations professing moderate Calvinism would probably find the perusal of this volume useful, and to such we cordially recommend it; for if the author cannot be said to treat the subject in a strictly philosophical manner, he yet treats it scripturally, which, with all who assent to that supreme authority as the final appeal, ought to be the chief point in every theological argument. Our ratiocination, when we think it clearest and strongest, may contain lapses, or be deficient in its grounds of induction, but the mind which possesses all the truth can never form, nor lead us to form, any wrong conclusion.

Art. VII. *Poems, chiefly of early and late years; including 'The Borderers,' a tragedy.* By William Wordsworth. 12mo. pp. 405. London: Moxon.

It would be very superfluous to occupy much space in critical disquisition on the merits of the great poet who has thus, at a very advanced period of life, once more appealed to the judgment of the public. His rank and place are already assigned him by the general voice, and that voice has assuredly given no hasty utterance. Slowly achieving fame, gaining every step of the hard and toilsome ascent in the face of difficulties, which, we must say, were often of his own creating, he has at length been placed, as it were by acclamation, far at the head of all living bards, and at an equal elevation, to say the least, with any of those illustrious contemporaries whom he has survived—Byron, Scott, Coleridge, and Shelley. The danger, in truth, is not lest he should be estimated below his deserts, it is rather the other way; lest the capricious and wayward public, which is often as thoughtless in its praises as in its censure, as boundless in its admiration as unreasonable in its contempt, should convert rational homage into idolatry, and for the sake of the great and, at last, recognised excellences of the poet, not only tolerate, but commend even his infirmities and foibles.

We have said that, in our judgment, Wordsworth's fame was needlessly deferred by difficulties and obstacles which he threw in his own path. We refer to the excess to which he carried, in practice, his own early and strongly conceived theory of poetry. Justly ashamed of the artificial and conventional character of the poetry of the eighteenth century, (equally narrow in its range of subjects, and unnatural in its manner of treating them,) he felt that there were in external nature, and in the world of thought and feeling within, boundless regions of the purest poetry, which during that period had been utterly and unaccountably neglected. He felt, also, that during that long reign of commonplace and conventionality, the poetic diction was as essentially vicious, as the subjects to which it almost exclusively confined itself were vulgar and limited; that the body of poetry was as diseased as its spirit. Its prosaic tameness and insipidity, not less tame and insipid because sometimes tawdrily fine and glittering; its redundant epithets, its formal metres, its sameness of phrase, its artificial vocabulary, its mechanical character altogether, were utterly at variance with that simple, energetic, free and varied manner which true poetry ever demands, and in which true poetry will ever express itself.

While we not only admit but maintain that our poetical literature is under great obligations to Wordsworth for the part he

took in the revolution which has been effected, and the purer and more rational poetic taste which has been diffused amongst us, we think that his merits, in this respect, have been somewhat overrated; at all events, they have been so exclusively asserted as almost to shut out remembrance of earlier bards who had already given the initiative in this great revolution, and who had gone far to reclaim the degenerate poetry of our country to a healthful condition. In the next place, it is not to be forgotten that Wordsworth, by the extent to which he acted on his system, the excess to which he carried its doctrines, the almost exclusive prominence which he gave to certain classes of subjects in his earliest poems, actually impeded for a time the progress of his own opinions, deferred their adoption by the public, and placed an obstacle in the way of his own reputation, which it required a quarter of a century wholly to remove. On both these points we shall offer a few observations.

The conventional and artificial character of the poetry of the latter part of the seventeenth, and nearly the whole of the eighteenth, century is justly described by a recent writer, from whom we shall cite a few detached sentences.

‘The spirit of English poetry, with a few bright exceptions, presents a singularly faded and exhausted appearance during the greater part of the eighteenth century. Poetry, indeed, had almost dwindled into a mere mechanical process of versification. If the lines were of a certain specified length, if the rhymes accorded, if the pause of each line rested upon a certain foot, and if each idea was comprised within a couplet, the poem was complete. . . . As might have been expected from such a mechanical state of poetry, a set of conventional phrases was formed, by which the process of verse making was rendered still more easy and unintellectual. Thus, if the poet wished to write a pastoral, the ‘snowy fleeces,’ the ‘verdant lawns,’ and ‘purling streams,’ were all at hand and might be arranged without effort. . . . If he commenced a production of some length, it was necessary, in the first place, to invoke his muse, without which the poem would have looked like a sermon without a text. . . . The figments of the classical mythology, which had no meaning but in the classical ages, were also as sedulously pressed into the service of the poet, as if they were still matters of public faith; and passions were attempted to be excited, and sympathies moved, by continual appeals to Jove, Mars, Apollo, the Fates, and the Furies, Venus, Cupid, and Minerva. A mere noun substantive made a pitiful figure by itself in orthodox verse, and required to be propped by an adjective, and therefore the rhymers were supplied with some epithet for every object in nature; a mead was invariably a ‘flowery mead,’ the rose must always be ‘blushing,’ and the



zephyr 'sighing.' There were also certain every-day objects, the names of which it was thought necessary to aggrandize before they could be fitted for the purposes of poetry. Thus the sun could not shine in verse but under the name of Phœbus, nor the evening star arise until it twinkled as Hesperus; even the sweet nightingale required to become Philomel, before she could be musical. Such was the manner in which sound was substituted for sense, and poetry itself was stifled and buried under a mass of verbiage. . . . But what strength, however great, could have moved easily under such restrictions? What genius, however brilliant, could have shone through such a cloud? 'The most accomplished scholars, and even poets of Nature's own creation, were born and nurtured in one common perversity, and therefore they were obliged to 'weave the web and weave the woof,' according to the scale of manufacture that had been decreed in the poetical market.' . . .

He afterwards says, in a very temperate and judicious critique on Wordsworth, 'to him the high reputation is due, of having been the first of the poets of this century to emancipate himself from the bondage of the classical school.'

In our opinion the revolution in question had commenced before Wordsworth appeared on the stage, and would have proceeded to its completion, had he never been born. Even this very writer names two poets at least, who were as free from what is factitious and artificial, as purely the children of nature, and evinced as all-embracing a sympathy with every element of true poetry as Wordsworth himself—we mean Cowper and Burns. Even Goldsmith, before them, had gone far to 'emancipate himself' from the bondage of the classical school. It is true that these poets all belong to the end of the last century; but it is with the *fact* that the great revolution in poetical taste had commenced previous to the present century with which we are now concerned. But even if we look at the present century, it is undeniable that poets had preceded Wordsworth, or appeared contemporaneously, who though very unlike himself, and equally unlike the poets above-mentioned, were almost as free from the vice of the exploded school, as was ever the Bard of Rydal. Such were Gifford, Campbell, Crabbe, Southey, and Scott: whatever peculiarities of manner they may present, they were the founders of new schools. It is true that when Wordsworth enunciated his theory of poetry, these poets had as yet only given an earnest of their future achievements, but they *had* published poems; and poems, we maintain, whatever their faults or excellences, very distinctly free from the faults of the previous century. The great difference between themselves and Wordsworth was, that the latter had attained more systematic views, a

more complete theory, and consistently carried it out, while they wrought in harmony with an unconscious impulse, and in compliance with the spirit inspired by the influential examples of Cowper and Burns. We are not quite sure that these poets were not thus quite as favourably circumstanced as Wordsworth, for one danger of an *hypothesis* is, that of carrying it to excess; one mischief of having a hobby-horse, that we are likely to ride it to death. And this leads us to the second point on which we proposed to offer a remark or two.

Wordsworth, in our judgment, erred in two ways in the application of his theory. He attempted to make some things yield poetry which never can or will yield it; and he employed to excess elements which, in moderation, and mingled with other and higher elements, are admissible enough. He saw clearly that all that is true poetry must be founded in nature; but it by no means follows that all that is natural can be made the element of true poetry. He saw that there were vast departments both of the external and the internal world lying waste, barren, and neglected; but it by no means follows that all the objects they contain, and the scenes they present, can be made available to the poet. There are themes which no genius, however great, can sublime into poetry; which no powers can dignify; which are so hopelessly incrustated over with the leprosy of mean, trivial, or revolting associations, that they cannot be made attractive to the imagination; themes which will inevitably drag down the genius which strives to exalt them to their own level, but cannot be raised to his. Productions, in which figure such characters as Betty Foy, Peter Bell, and Harry Gill, in spite of occasional flashes of genius, will never be regarded as otherwise than egregious failures.

But not only did Wordsworth attempt to dignify some hopelessly mean and trivial themes, but topics such as are rightfully admissible in poetry, when combined with other and more important ones, when transiently and gracefully touched and dismissed again, as in a long poem like the 'Task,' or the 'Excursion,' (and no man knows better how to do this, when he pleases, than Wordsworth,) were, in his resolute adherence to his theory, made almost the staple of his earliest productions, and gave to his 'Lyrical Ballads' (a juvenile and most injudicious production) their whole character. It looked as though he had concluded not only that many things ought to be admitted elements of true poetry which had been conventionally excluded, but as though poetry ought to renounce her rightful and more glorious domains in exclusive favour of them.

Wordsworth has since done amply sufficient to vindicate his genius, and to entitle himself to the place and the fame his

country has awarded to him. For descriptions of external nature, for sagacious and accurate observation of her ever changeful aspects, whether on the vast or the minute scale; for enthusiastic love and veneration of all the varying forms of the sublime or the beautiful; for profound and accurate analysis of thought and feeling; for original and powerful imagery; for purity and chastened elegance of diction; and for a most various mastery of metre, he has certainly not often been rivalled. Not but what even his higher efforts have been disfigured by some gross defects. In our judgment, he is still misled by his early habitudes of thought, into what (with reverence be it spoken) may be almost called childish admiration of what is trivial. He is often in raptures, one cannot tell why; and breaks out into sentimental ecstasies at objects, sights, sounds,—a flower, a weed, an insect,—with which our mere humanity cannot deeply sympathize, and expresses himself in a manner which, to all but a pantheist, must be considered altogether inexplicable. Far be it from us to depreciate that enthusiasm which a deep and honest love of nature must inspire for all the forms of external beauty, but there is still a certain proportion to be maintained in our emotions, according to the intrinsic value or relative importance of the objects; for it is ever the characteristic of a well-ordered intellect to be '*comparatively* little moved with things which have *comparatively* little in them.' At all events, it would assuredly be difficult to parallel from Shakspeare or Milton (whose intense love of nature will not be disputed), such paroxysms of sentimental wonder or delight as those in which Wordsworth not seldom indulges. In most cases, such emotion would be pronounced exaggerated and affected.

Another and opposite defect occasionally exhibited by this poet is, in our judgment, the want of that thorough abandonment of himself to his own emotions, which is so singularly characteristic of the highest genius. He is still too often at leisure to turn aside to interpolate a justification of this sentiment or that emotion, or to anticipate a supposed criticism, or to retaliate the scorn and the sneer which he is pleased to suppose some objector may indulge in. It is difficult to suppose either time or inclination for these reflex operations,—these oblique references to the world's opinions, in a mind thoroughly absorbed, intent only on its own creations, and deeming them not only its sufficient occupation, but, whatever others may think of them, its sufficient recompence also.—Yet another defect in Wordsworth, whether resulting from sole companionship with his own thoughts, which may have led to an over-estimate of their value, we know not—is that, to our judgment, he has not been sufficiently scrupulous in selecting his pieces for publication. Not a few



stanzas—not a few whole poems might be named, which might be erased from his works without the slightest diminution of aught but their bulk; many which we see no reason to consider either more or less prosaic than those of the humblest versifier.

But perhaps the most singular defect of Wordsworth's mind, and from which his longer poems have most suffered, though it could not, and cannot impair the magnificent descriptions, the profound reflections, the glorious imagery with which they are fraught, is his apparently total inability to construct a probable, well-arranged, well-connected narrative. His genius, indeed, is essentially descriptive and meditative, and neither epic nor dramatic; and we cannot but think it a pity that he has ever attempted anything unfit for it. His machinery is usually of the absurdest and meanest kind; the incidents so few, meagre, and unconnected, that the only regret is, that the whole is not narrated in the poet's own person, as in the case of the 'Task.' The characters into whose mouths he puts his poetry, are often either devoid of individuality, or have an individuality as remote as possible from that of the class to which they professedly belong. To take the *Excursion*, for example; who can fail to wonder that the most beautiful poetry, and even the most subtle metaphysics, should be represented as flowing from the lips of a 'Pedlar'?

The little tale entitled 'Guilt and Sorrow,' in the present volume (though containing many beautiful stanzas), is not, in our judgment, any exception to these remarks. It appears to have been, however, a very early production; at least, a very considerable portion appeared as far back as 1798.

It is certainly no discredit to any poet (eminent in any one province of that wide art) that he is not very successful in attempting an intertexture of well-conceived incidents, or well-developed characters; it is only a pity that he should attempt it when nature consents not. The dramatic genius is distinguished by peculiarities almost as strong as those which separate the poet in general from other men. Now Wordsworth's genius, we take it, is as already said descriptive and meditative, not dramatic. In the present volume, however, he has given us a tragedy, composed so early as the years 1795-6. We do not think that it at all justifies the belief that its author would ever succeed in this department of poetical composition, or falsifies the expectations which would be formed of his powers in this respect from his other attempts at narrative. It is of course impossible that a genius like that of Mr. Wordsworth, could write an hundred and fifty pages without giving us some beautiful lines, but as a tragedy it certainly will never rank high. It is entitled the 'Borderers,' and refers to the reign of Henry III.; but the characters and

the sentiments are as little like what may be conceived to belong to that period as to almost any other; the dialogue is, as might be expected, very sufficiently calm and unimpassioned; the plot meagre and unexciting. In a word, we think the author's reputation is best consulted by forgetting that he has published it.

As for the rest of this volume, it exhibits all the writer's characteristic excellences and defects; of the latter, we shall not curiously search for specimens, but devote our little remaining space to the more welcome object of exhibiting some instances of the former. The following address to the 'Clouds' is really a magnificent production, and deserves to rank with some of our poet's highest efforts. It vies with the well known chorus in the 'Nubes' of the versatile Aristophanes:—

#### ADDRESS TO THE CLOUDS.

' Army of Clouds! ye winged Host in troops  
 Ascending from behind the motionless brow  
 Of that tall rock, as from a hidden world,  
 O! whither with such eagerness of speed?  
 What seek ye, or what shun ye? Of the gale  
 Companions, fear ye to be left behind,  
 Or racing o'er your blue ethereal field  
 Contend ye with each other? Of the sea  
 Children, thus post ye over vale and height  
 To sink upon your mother's lap—and rest?  
 Or were ye rightlier hailed, when first mine eyes  
 Beheld in your impetuous march the likeness  
 Of a wide army pressing on to meet  
 Or overtake some unknown enemy?—  
 But your smooth motions suit a peaceful aim;  
 And Fancy, not less aptly pleased, compares  
 Your squadrons to an endless flight of birds  
 Aerial, upon due migration bound  
 To milder climes; or rather do ye urge  
 In caravan your hasty pilgrimage,  
 To pause at last on more aspiring heights  
 Than these, and utter your devotion there  
 With thunderous voice? Or are ye jubilant,  
 And would ye, tracking your proud lord the Sun,  
 Be present at his setting; or the pomp  
 Of Persian mornings would ye fill, and stand  
 Poising your splendours high above the heads  
 Of worshippers kneeling to their uprisen God?  
 Whence, whence, ye clouds! this eagerness of speed?  
 Speak, silent creatures. They are gone, are fled,  
 Buried together in yon gloomy mass  
 That loads the middle heaven; and clear and bright  
 And vacant doth the region which they throng'd

Appear; a calm descent of sky conducting  
Down to the unapproachable abyss,  
Down to that hidden gulf from which they rose  
To vanish—fleet as days and months and years,  
Fleet as the generations of mankind,  
Power, glory, empire, as the world itself,  
The lingering world when time hath ceased to be.  
But the winds roar, shaking the rooted trees,  
And see! a bright precursor to a train  
Perchance as numerous, overpeers the rock  
That sullenly refuses to partake  
Of the wild impulse. From a fount of life  
Invisible, the long procession moves  
Luminous or gloomy, welcome to the vale  
Which they are entering, welcome to mine eye  
That sees them, to my soul that owns in them,  
And in the bosom of the firmament  
O'er which they move, wherein they are contained,  
A type of her capacious self and all  
Her restless progeny.

An humble walk

Here is my body doomed to tread, this path,  
A little hoary line and faintly traced,  
Work shall we call it of the shepherd's foot  
Or of his flock?—Joint vestige of them both.  
I pace it unrepining, for my thoughts  
Admit no bondage, and my words have wings.  
Where is the Orphean lyre, or Druid harp,  
To accompany the verse? The mountain blast  
Shall be our *hand* of music; he shall sweep  
The rocks, and quivering trees, and billowy lake,  
And search the fibres of the caves, and they  
Shall answer, for our song is of the clouds,  
And the wind loves them; and the gentle gales—  
Which by their aid re-clothe the naked lawn  
With annual verdure, and revive the woods,  
And moisten the parched lips of thirsty flowers—  
Love them; and every idle breeze of air  
Bends to the favourite burthen. Moon and stars  
Keep their most solemn vigils when the clouds  
Watch also, shifting peaceably their place  
Like bands of ministering spirits, or when they lie,  
As if some Protean art the change had wrought,  
In listless quiet o'er the ethereal deep  
Scattered, a Cyclades of various shapes  
And all degrees of beauty. O ye Lightnings!  
Ye are their perilous offspring; and the Sun—  
Source inexhaustible of life and joy,  
And type of man's far darting reason, therefore



In old time worshipped as the God of verse,  
 A blazing intellectual deity—  
 Loves his own glory in their looks, and showers  
 Upon that unsubstantial brotherhood  
 Visions with all but beatific light  
 Enriched—too transient were they not renewed  
 From age to age, and did not while we gaze  
 In silent rapture, credulous desire  
 Nourish the hope that memory lacks not power  
 To keep the treasure unimpaired. Vain thought!  
 Yet why repine, created as we are  
 For joy and rest, albeit to find them only  
 Lodged in the bosom of eternal things?

The following lines, composed at 'Vallombrosa,' are also eminently beautiful, and not unworthy of the great bard whose genius it celebrates, and to whom, as the 'genius loci,' our poet seems to owe his inspiration:—

AT VALLOMBROSA.

'Vallombrosa—I longed in thy shadiest wood  
 To slumber, reclined on the moss-covered floor!"  
 Fond wish that was granted at last, and the flood,  
 That lulled me asleep, bids me listen once more.  
 Its murmur how soft! as it falls down the steep,  
 Near that cell—yon sequestered retreat high in air—  
 Where our Milton was wont lonely vigils to keep,  
 For converse with God, sought through study and prayer.

The monks still repeat the tradition with pride,  
 And its truth who shall doubt? for his spirit is here;  
 In the cloud piercing rocks doth her grandeur abide,  
 In the pines pointing heavenward her beauty austere;  
 In the flower-besprent meadows his genius we trace,  
 Turned to humbler delights in which youth might confide,  
 That would yield him fit help while prefiguring that place,  
 Where, if sin had not entered, love never had died.

When with life lengthened out came a desolate time,  
 And darkness and danger had compassed him round;  
 With a thought he might flee to these haunts of his prime,  
 And here once again a kind shelter be found.  
 And let me believe that when nightly the muse  
 Would waft him to Sion, the glorified hill,  
 Here also, on some favoured height they would choose  
 To wander and drink inspiration at will.

Vallombrosa, of thee I first heard in the page  
 Of that holiest of bards; and the name for my mind  
 Had a musical charm, which the winter of age  
 And the changes it brings had no power to unbind.

And now, ye Miltonian shades! under you  
 I repose, nor am forced from sweet fancy to part,  
 While your leaves I behold, and the brooks they will strew,  
 And the realized vision is clasped to my heart.

Even so, and unblamed, we rejoice as we may,  
 In forms that must perish, frail objects of sense;  
 Unblamed—if the soul be intent on the day,  
 When the Being of beings shall summon her hence.  
 For he, and he only, with wisdom is blest,  
 Who gathering true pleasures wherever they grow,  
 Looks up in all places, for joy or for rest,  
 To the Fountain whence time and eternity flow.'

Mr. Wordsworth is well known to be one of the greatest masters, if we might not rather say, the greatest master in modern times, of the sonnet. The present volume contains many, some of no more than ordinary merit; others not unworthy of comparison with any he has produced. The following, recording his feelings on visiting the 'favourite seat' of Dante, is very beautiful:—

#### AT FLORENCE.

' Under the shadow of a stately pile,  
 The dome of Florence, pensive and alone,  
 Nor giving heed to aught that passed the while,  
 I stood and gazed upon a marble stone,  
 The laurell'd Dante's favourite seat. A throne  
 In just esteem it rivals; though no style  
 Be there of decoration to beguile  
 The mind, depressed by thought of greatness flown.  
 As a true man who long had served the lyre,  
 I gazed with earnestness, and dared no more.  
 But in his breast the mighty poet bore  
 A patriot's heart, warm with undying fire.  
 Bold with the thought, in reverence I sate down,  
 And for a moment filled that empty throne.'

The following contains a striking description of a fact more familiar than thought of; which all can *recognise* when pointed out, but which few have noticed for themselves. The application also is eminently beautiful:—

#### AT DOVER.

' From the pier's head, musing, and with increase  
 Of wonder long I watched this sea-side town,  
 Under the white cliffs' battlemented crown,  
 Hushed to a depth of more than Sabbath peace:

The streets, the quays, are thronged; but why disown  
 Their natural voices? whence this strange release  
 From social noise—silence elsewhere unknown?  
 A spirit whispered, 'Let all wonder cease;  
 Ocean's o'erpowering murmurs have set free  
 Thy sense from pressure of life's common din;  
 As the dread voice that speaks from out the sea  
 Of God's eternal word, the voice of time  
 Deadens the shocks of tumult, shrieks of crime,  
 The shouts of folly, and the groans of sin.'

We must content ourselves with one more, and it is, in our opinion, extremely beautiful. Its truth and fidelity to nature there are few who cannot feel. The picture of a mind spell-bound by care and anxiety, and buried in fitful musing, suddenly finding the whole train of thought and emotion changed and dissolved by some familiar sight or sound, and all at once attuned, as by that key note, to joy and harmony, is extremely forcible and striking:—

## SONNET.

'Hark! 'tis the thrush, undaunted, undeprest,  
 By twilight premature of cloud and rain;  
 Nor does that roaring wind deaden his strain,  
 Who carols thinking of his love and nest,  
 And seems, as more incited, still more blest.  
 Thanks; thou hast snapped a fire-side prisoner's chain,  
 Exulting warbler! eased a fretted brain,  
 And in a moment charmed my cares to rest.  
 Yes, I will forth, bold bird, and front the blast,  
 That we may sing together, if thou wilt,  
 So loud, so clear, my partner through life's day,  
 Mute in her nest love-chosen, if not love-built,  
 Like thine, shall gladden, as in seasons past,  
 Thrilled by loose snatches of the social lay.'

We would fain prolong our extracts, but space forbids. We can only say, that of the remaining poems, the reader will find many which will not disgrace the writer's previous reputation, and would particularly recommend to his perusal the 'Memorials of a Tour in Italy,' and the spirited modern renderings of certain fragments of 'Chaucer.'

We cannot discharge our consciences without saying one word more. We certainly do not look to the poet for our lessons in theology; yet when we consider how fair and plausible any error appears when recommended by such a teacher, and seen through such a medium as that he presents, we do not think the reader can be too strongly warned against it when so associated.



Not obscurely has Mr. Wordsworth in his earlier works expressed his approbation of some of the most pernicious doctrines (as we deem them) of the school now unhappily dominant in the English church, and similar tendencies are but too visible in many parts of the present volume. Take, for example, the following sonnet. What is its tendency, if not to sanctify the grossest superstition by representing it as flowing from the same principle as enlightened faith, and to invite the conclusion that the darkest ignorance and delusion, if but founded on a religious element, cease to have their proper nature?

## AT ALBANO.

Days passed, and Monte Calvo would not clear  
His head from mist; and as the wind sobbed through  
Albano's dripping Ilex avenue,  
My dull forebodings in a peasant's ear  
Found casual vent. She said, 'Be of good cheer;  
Our yesterday's procession did not sue  
In vain; the sky will change to sunny blue,  
'Thanks to our Lady's grace.' I smiled to hear,  
But not in scorn: the matron's faith may lack  
The heavenly sanction needed to insure  
Its own fulfilment; but her upward track  
Stops not at this low point, nor wants the lure  
Of flowers the Virgin without fear may own,  
For by her Son's blest hand the seed was sown.

Such perverted *sentimentality* as this is not unfrequent in the strains of our poet, and we should not be doing our duty if we did not enter our protest against it.

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Art. VIII. *Speech by Lord Viscount Palmerston, on the State of Public Affairs, in the House of Commons on Wednesday the 10th of August, 1842.* London: Ridgway. Second Edition.

WE scarcely ever remember seeing the story of the Castle of Otranto so nearly realized as during the late commotions in our manufacturing districts. Horace Walpole, the author of that romance, has imagined a noble and antiquated castle, the scene of revel, oppression, and intrigue; such as now bear sway, upon a national scale, throughout the institutions of our country. But meanwhile, the gigantic phantom of a departed hero grows larger and more powerful, under the very foundations of the building. An enormous helmet falls down from the clouds, in readiness for the colossal warrior, when he shall have burst his cerements. The castellans are every now and then startled out

of their senses, by the apparition, in secret chambers, or under lone staircases, of a mailed hand clenched in anger, of some Titanic limb turning in torment, from the heaving struggles of their owner to escape from such a sepulchre. Yet augury, prodigy, and even earthquake, all prove in vain, until the catastrophe arrives. Then are the ramparts cloven asunder, and the liberated spectre ascends, in all his irresistible and unearthly dimensions, upon piles of melancholy ruin. So may come forth, at no distant day, *sed omen Deus avertat!* that spirit which is now gathering up its might under the very pillars of our prosperity, amidst preparatory throes, afforded without success, to a government that has no eyes! The entire framework of society seems to tremble in vain. Insurrection goes on hollowing out the ground below, whilst princes, courtiers, and nobles, are feasting above, with as much carelessness as the Babylonian banqueters in the palace of Belshazzar. Will no characters of fire convey alarm to ministers, who could arrange a festival for the King of Prussia, where the tables groaned under three waggon-loads of gold plate, and a peacock blazed in the midst with thirty thousand pounds worth of diamonds in its tail, whilst millions of operatives, with their wives and wailing children, had not a morsel of bread to eat? Can no prophet rise from our bench of prelates, so prompt as they are against vulgar delinquencies, to denounce the hard-heartedness and recklessness of our aristocracy and rich men, who have grown fat upon war rentals, and reared the Corinthian columns of the state upon a monopoly of provisions? Upon the transactions of the last year alone an impeachment may be supported against conservatism, such as its followers will never be able to repel, nor history ever suffer to pass away. We wage no war against individuals, in their proper persons, but only against systems, and the intentional obstinacy or wilfulness connected with them. Our legislators have now chosen to disperse to their several pursuits and amusements, as though peril were an idle dream. When on the 21st of last July, Lord Palmerston ventured to propose a re-assemblage of parliament in October, for giving some semblance of relief to the lower classes, by releasing bonded corn, our Home Secretary answered from his seat, 'You know we shall be then pheasant shooting!' an answer, by the way, heartless enough, yet in most perfect keeping with the genius of that political school to which the once radical baronet has recently apostatized. Toryism now in authority, under the full flush of its victorious ascendancy, may shake its finger at us as scornfully as it pleases. We will only reply, with becoming humility and calmness, that its hour must shortly be over; that its race of iniquity is nearly run; that even its wicked game laws, in which it is at present so ruthlessly expatiating, will not

last for ever ; that bad government has a mark of doom upon its forehead ; that the aggrieved are getting morally, as well as physically, stronger than their aggressors ; that, ere long, the arm of public opinion will drag on oligarchy to its bar ; and that the vaunted administration of Sir Robert Peel already breaks down under its own weight of failure. We propose, however, reviewing it very briefly, under the threefold character, of its domestic legislation, its foreign policy, and its general conduct.

Now, with regard to the first, there is no point upon which more was promised than in reference to our finances. Posterity will hardly credit the boldness with which honourable and right honourable senators emptied upon the floors of their respective houses, what Latin authors have styled *plaustra mendaciorum*, or in plain homely English, cartloads of lies upon this subject. Even the premier himself, the Coryphæus of conservatism, and so far superior to the *canaille* of his party, stands convicted of no little tergiversation, to give it no severer name, in his financial statements. The *omissio veri*, and the *commissio falsi*, must have sorely harassed him throughout the session. When parading his income tax before his adherents and opponents, he gravely assured both, that onerous as the impost might appear, there was another felicitous measure in store, which would so reduce every commodity in price, that the middle and lower orders might almost consider themselves benefited by the burden. But when the tariff came forward in its turn, with here and there such reductions of duty as would admit foreign pork or live cattle from the continent, Sir Robert Peel assumed another tone, and endeavoured to hush his bawling squirearchy with a thousand assurances that they were crying out before they were hurt ; that his recent declarations must be read *cum grano salis*, and understood, as Satan is said sometimes to repeat the Pater Noster ; that the Holstein ox might prove a golden calf after all, to the landlords themselves ; that the landed interest lay as close to his heart on one side, as manufacturers lay upon the other ; whilst, unhappily, the main misfortune to the nation was, that truth and justice got positively smothered between the deceptive adjustment of these two feather beds. However, 'the finances, the state of the finances,' always constituted his clenching argument. His predecessors had left him an empty treasury, and what could he do ? There appeared an accumulative and prospective deficiency, upon paper, of ten millions ; as to which, Lord Monteagle justly observed, 'It was a mere bubble, about which, however, much might be said in the course of debate.' The fact was slurred over, that, allowing for the transmutation of perpetual into terminable annuities, whereby the nation will gain immensely in the end, *the increased charge of the debt annually is only 29,000*l.* in the*



year 1841, as compared with 1831; even after including the sum of 20,000,000*l.*, and the interest upon it, which Lord Stanley and the West India planters contrived to screw out of the philanthropy of Great Britain as the price for extinguishing slavery. The new terminable annuities alone, the honourable achievement of liberal chancellors of the exchequer, having the sanction of the late Lord Congleton, and the most eminent financiers in the world, cost us per annum, at present, nearly an additional 909,000*l.* sterling. But then a correspondent portion of our debt expires at the end of a certain period; so that in reality it constitutes the least exceptionable form of a sinking fund, which will relieve the country, probably, just when it will most want it. Neither Peel nor Goulburn had the manliness or candour to state this, and allow for it, although the statement was admitted to be undeniable when made. Neither would they mention the vast falling off in our unfunded debt, simply because any comprehensive exposition of the entire case would have broken the frightful 'bubble,' and taken out all the sting of 'the much that might be said about it in the debate!' It can be now demonstrated, that throughout the ten years of liberal administration, five were those in which, from 1832 to 1836, there was a surplus of income over expenditure, amounting collectively to about 7,485,000*l.*, whilst the other years, being those of deficiency, presented an aggregate of deficit considerably under seven millions; so that, after all, the real, genuine, bonâ-fide falling short, was merely for 1841-2. All allowance for a positive annual reduction of taxation, effected by the liberals, to the extent of from five to six millions in the clear, was, of course, omitted by the premier and his satellites; since an avowal of such honest truth would have been far from answering the sinister purpose of toryism. Conservative country gentlemen would, in such case, have laughed on the wrong corner of their mouths, a week or so sooner than was necessary. Sir Robert Peel had climbed into power on the back of fools, and therefore he treated them as such. The lords of acres are remarkably dull at figures, and so he first addressed himself to their prejudices, which process, he felt well aware, would rapidly lengthen their ears, and proportionably diminish their very small amount of understanding. Let any one ask these sulky fellows themselves, as to how lovingly their once idolized leader has of late treated them, and we shall be content to abide by their replies.

The premier, we repeat it, began his parliamentary campaign with mystifying the finances of his country, exaggerating their embarrassment for his own purposes, and making light of the danger incurred by sundry absurd declarations, that he was driven to an income tax, because all other sources of taxation

had become exhausted. Lord Monteagle might well exclaim, 'Let not that sound go forth amongst our foreign enemies!' Two short twelvemonths ago, in 1840, the member for Tamworth, then heading the opposition, openly avowed, that to 'attempt to raise the small sum of 2,500,000*l.* by a property tax, would not be advisable;' yet once fairly seated in power, matters wore a new aspect, and he therefore devoured his leek on this, as well as on former occasions, with as few wry faces as might be. He possesses marvellous faculties for illustrating the *Levius fit patientia quidquid corrigere est nefas*. The speech from the throne, at the commencement of the late session, announced that excess of expenditure over income, which was to pave the way for a subtraction of sevenpence in the pound from all the lieges of her Majesty possessing revenues above a certain slender and specified amount. Now, not only did ministers catch up this affair of deficiency, and magnify it, and prophesy, and dilate upon it, just as the philosopher in the fable did about the fly which had got into his telescope, and which he fancied some monster in the sun, but they forthwith aggravated it by an unnecessary sacrifice of a large portion of the duty on timber. The whig measures would have augmented the revenue by lowering the duties upon three grand articles of life. Sir Robert chiefly wanted to make out a case, and therefore timber furnished him with convenient materials. In this way were we saddled with an impost which may bring large returns to the treasury, but which will scatter throughout the land a crop of heart-burning, discontent, deception, and disunion. What did Lord Ashburton say in 1816, but that 'all the good he could discern in the property tax was, that it was dead; for all the opprobrious epithets heaped upon it seemed hardly to come up to its deserts. He would rather be summoned before a bench of bishops to be questioned on points of doctrine, than appear before the tax commissioners to give an account of his goods and chattels.' We are amongst those who look forward with dismay to the effects likely to be produced by it to our various religious societies; and therefore, through their diminished means of operation, to our fellow-creatures at large, both at home and abroad. Few, but those who have experienced it, can be aware, with how much difficulty, yet with how much cheerfulness, the guinea or half sovereign is surrendered from a till, which declining profits and contracting trade are every day leaving less and less furnished for even the necessaries of domestic life. Hearts may enlarge, and often do so, as mere gold and silver flow towards them in a narrower stream. But in a country like our own, as indeed everywhere else, men must be just before they are generous; and we deem it more than probable, that in numerous instances, our middle classes will be sorely pressed

upon. Aristocratic legislation abhors the voluntary principle, or else it would surely have contrived some plan whereby funds set apart for charitable and religious objects should have escaped, either altogether or partially, the fangs of fiscal exaction.

But to glance for a moment at their commercial measures, let us call to mind upon what pleas they (by whom we mean ministers and their supporters,) appealed to sundry constituencies when parliament was dissolved. The Melbourne administration offered to retain office upon principles of anti-monopoly; and as specimens of their intentions, they proposed the substitution of a fixed duty instead of the sliding scale, as to the corn laws; together with such modifications of the sugar and timber duties as would cheapen both those articles to the consumer, and at the same time render to the revenue an increase of about 1,500,000*l.* per annum. All these ameliorations were opposed with a virulence and outcry greater than when Luther three hundred years ago ventured, as Erasmus quaintly observed, 'to touch the pope on his crown, and the monks on their bellies.' The church hurled her anathemas upon those who would dare to lower the prices of grain, and thereby affect the recent tithe commutation. West Indian planters, who used to account the cause of anti-slavery execrable, now suddenly melted into such warm sympathizers with oppressed negroes, that the venerable Clarkson and Sir Thomas Buxton seemed icicles compared to them. They would, if one might believe them, sooner forfeit their estates than use slave-grown produce, except, indeed, in the shape of Havannah cigars, the cotton that covered their own proper persons, and various other articles, which fashion had sanctioned, as either ornamental or useful to the upper classes. In one word, the bulk of conservatism stood upon the hustings avowedly as friends of restriction, under the name and title of Necessary Protection. As such, by the help of the most atrocious bribery, intimidation, and deception ever known, they achieved a triumph, and reaped a harvest, which the noble orator, whose address we have placed at the head of this article, and which will not soon be forgotten, thus admirably describes:—

'The last session of the late parliament brought matters to a crisis. Those great measures of reform, some of which we were enabled to bring forward, shewed that the time had at length arrived when they must give us battle, and they prepared vigorously for the fight. They fought the battle in this house, and in the country. Their victory was undoubtedly complete; and our defeat, I am ready to acknowledge, amounted almost to a rout. Surely, when we delivered up the seals of office, and power was placed in the hands of the right honourable gentlemen opposite, surely that was a day which secured for many years to come the maintenance of that system to which the party was



attached,—of that system, which they had so long upheld, and which they considered no less essential to the interests of the country than conformable to their own peculiar wants. Great was the triumph, loud was the note of exultation; but alas! how vain is human wisdom,—how short the foresight of even the wisest men! But a few months passed over their heads before the songs of triumph were changed into the cries of lamentation. The very parties whom they had selected to be their chosen champions,—the very guardians whom they had armed with power for their defence, turned their weapons upon them, and most inhumanly, with unrelenting cruelty, struck blows, which, if they have not already proved fatal, must in all probability lead sooner or later to their utter extinction. Of course, I am now only speaking in a moral and political sense. But great was their disappointment, loud were their lamentations, and deep their expressions of complaint! We have not, to be sure, heard much of it in this house, because there are reasons for that: but if much has not been said in this house, a great deal has been said in every other house in London. At all the clubs, in every street, we heard ringing in our ears the loudest and bitterest complaints that honourable gentlemen, who occupy the benches behind ministers, had been the victims of the grossest deception. I say, they were grossly deceived; but by whom? They have themselves to blame for any disappointment which they sustained in consequence of the course pursued by her Majesty's government. Why did they not in the course of the ten long years, during which they were following their present leaders, take due pains to ascertain what the opinions of those leaders were upon those important points which they conceived to be vital questions to the country. If they did not do so, they ought to blame only themselves for the disappointment they experienced, when the real opinions of their leaders necessarily came to be disclosed. What those opinions are, we have heard during the present session; and I am bound to say, that more liberal doctrines, more enlightened views, sounder or juster principles than I have heard propounded by those members of the government who have been called upon to take a prominent part in the debates, could not have proceeded from the most enthusiastic advocate of free trade. But it may be said that these doctrines and opinions were inherited by right honourable gentlemen opposite, together with our offices. It cannot, however, be imagined that they found them in the red boxes which we left upon the table in our offices. It is not to be supposed that we so impregnated the air of Downing-street with free trade principles, that when our successors entered it, they caught the infection as they would an epidemic. (Immense laughter.) It would be childish to believe that. Still less can it be supposed that these recently propounded doctrines and opinions are the result of their studies since ministers have been in office. We know what are the labours of official men; we know that the stream of business comes flowing in every hour of every day, like the current of the Thames, and that, if not dispatched instantly, it will accumulate, and soon overflow. None know better than we do the magnitude of the weight which bears upon the shoulders of an

administration. Their labour, immense at all times, is infinitely greater during the first few months of their official existence. It is not to be supposed, therefore, that her Majesty's ministers applied themselves between the 3rd of September, when they entered office, and the 3rd of February, when parliament met, to the study of Ricardo, Adam Smith, Macculloch, Senior, Mill, or other writers of the same kind. No; it is clear that the opinions which they have so well expounded in the present session must be the result of long meditation, of studies deliberately pursued during the ten years of comparative leisure, which even the most active opposition affords; and that they must have come into power fully imbued with all those principles, the enunciation of which has excited so much admiration on this side the house. I think that the party opposite, who find so much fault with the government, do so without cause; though at the same time I must candidly confess, in one respect, the conduct of right honourable gentlemen opposite is open to animadversion. I complain of their over-modesty; in that, upon many occasions, when, they being out of power, matters came under discussion in this house, to which the principles they have lately avowed were fully and plainly applicable, their over-modesty,—for no doubt it was that,—I say, their over-modesty prevented them from doing themselves full justice; inasmuch, as by practising an over-scrupulous reserve, *they really concealed from the public the progress they had made in their politico-economical studies?*

Never was fair raillery applied to parliamentary opponents with greater felicity or delicacy. Like the sword of Saladin, in the Crusaders of Sir Walter Scott, his lordship severed in twain that fine flimsy veil with which Sir Robert and his colleagues attempted to conceal their hypocrisy. The nakedness of their cause has no escape, it being clearly that of the most greedy and inveterate place-hunters. Either they were free traders, and therefore bound as consistent men, at least not to oppose, much less throw out the Melbourne administration; or else, they were not so, but have since seen the necessity of bending to circumstances, so that their offices and consciences are now paved with broken pledges. They bitterly accused their predecessors of tenacity in adhering to office; but does not every shell of reproach which they have ever thrown, now burst with tenfold violence in their own camp? Where, too, is the valid difference between a ministry incapacitated through a factious opposition from passing its measures, and an administration failing to act out its own recently avowed principles? Sir Robert Peel pompously and indignantly announces himself a genuine free-trader of as long standing as the days of Mr. Huskisson. Why, then, with a majority of ninety members at his back, does he not put the staff of life, free and unincumbered, into the crippled hand of industrial manufacture? Why is sugar to be doled out at double the price at which it might be sold, and *is sold*, in some of

the smaller dependencies of the British crown? The premier, nevertheless, appears on the best terms with himself on all these subjects. His reply to the onslaught of his antagonist, and a very able off-hand reply it was, contains the following:—‘During the ten years previous to the Reform Bill, there was a greater application of commercial reform, and a much larger abolition of monopolies, than took place during the eight years succeeding it!’ Then how was it, we would ask, that Sir Robert contrived to let the fact of his liberalism on these matters escape the notice of his supporters; whilst upon the hypothesis, that commercial restriction really has an enemy in him, one can only say that *Paulum sepultæ distat inertie celata virtus!* He has in a thousand ways sounded the trumpet of his own praise, as he imagines, but of his own condemnation, as all others perceive, with respect both to his corn bill and tariff. Where a person stedfastly adheres to what he knows, and admits to be wrong, less indulgence will hereafter be shown than to the dullness and pig-headedness of ignorance or bigotry. The opposition have won many laurels since they have breathed a more wholesome and popular atmosphere, than formerly. Ever and anon, they have nobly rescued a very slippery, and not a very grateful minister, from being ridden over by his own heavy cavalry. On one occasion, Somersetshire beeves and Essex calves would have trampled him in the mire, had Lord John Russell copied the example of those who excluded him from power. The vice-president of the Board of Trade must have winced in his seat, when, after proposing a plan, ‘a small one to be sure,—a plan for exchanging a little flour for a little biscuit in bond, to the extent only of 100,000 quarters within the year,’ the eloquent and noble member for Tiverton came to his aid, assuring him that his timid faltering step was in a right direction,—that although on comparing his professions with his practice, he might say, *Ex ore tuo condemnavi*,—yet all the past should be forgotten, if he would but be consistent, and advance further. Lord Palmerston then showed him that the doctrines adduced from his own lips were neither more nor less than those which whiggery and radicalism were now contending for, ‘not in opposition to *oratorical displays*, but against silent and unwilling hearers, whom no fair arguments might at present convince, but who would perhaps be convinced, when the same opinions are not only broached by those whom they respect and follow, but when measures founded on those opinions in their largest and most comprehensive sense shall be proposed by their leaders to this house; and when those leaders, going out into the lobby, followed by their nominal adversaries, shall triumph in the success of free trade principles against their own supporters, and through the honour-



able and independent succour of those who in politics had been opposed to them?

But if their commercial measures must cover our present ministers with merited confusion, let us see whether they have done much better with regard to their boasted Bankruptcy Laws. There is so much chaff about all their proceedings, that they require a great deal of sifting. It will be found, we believe, that even in minor affairs, their propositions have fallen far short of the necessities of the country. Their remedies, improvements, or even their good intentions, can only be called such by courtesy. They are nothing either in size or figure, except in the shadow which they project from an altitude which is not their own. In other words, the tories of our time are neither more nor less than pigmies of class legislation, mounted for the current hour, and to suit some specific purpose, upon the Alps of liberty. When forced to descend from such summits into the arena of close parliamentary conflict, they still look upon their enemies from the shoulders of other men, whereby they delude themselves into the hallucination that they are as tall as the children of Anak. Their characteristics are pusillanimity, lubricity, fearfulness, covetousness, and cunning. Take as an example their course about a bankruptcy code. Her Majesty had alluded to it on the 3rd of February. That reform is imperatively required, almost all men admit. Some tub, therefore, or other, must be thrown out to the popular whale. The present government found the scheme of a bill on the subject prepared by the late lord-chancellor, so that there could be little more to do than to ascertain whether they generally approved of its principles, and then it might be brought forward immediately. Omitting some of its best portions, this was accordingly done on the 18th of February, when the attention of the peers was requested to a measure, cut down indeed, but still containing between ninety and one hundred clauses. Now we appeal to our readers, whether one of the heaviest complaints made by conservatism against the Melbourne administration, was not, that it failed to make sufficient use of 'the legislative power of the House of Lords'? It was perpetually said that bills of the utmost importance were sent up in a heap from the Commons to their lordships, toward the termination of a session, when it was impossible to bestow due deliberation upon them. Now the Bankruptcy Bill, affecting as it did the middle and lower classes to an extent infinitely beyond the apprehension of an aristocratic chamber, dragged its slow length along for five months before it came down to the Lower House, on the 18th of July! At this season, in order to give it decent consideration, the House of Commons felt obliged to sit at noon, just when gentlemen of the long robe are necessarily

absent; and indeed, had it not been for Sir Thomas Wilde, lawyers would have been scarcely able to know, discuss, or propose modifications of a matter falling peculiarly within their province. But 'what is all this to me?' says Sir Robert Peel. 'We have at length carried the Bankruptcy Bill, and the Lunacy Bill, and above all, the Ecclesiastical Leases Bill, a bill for the improvement of property, and for contributing to the good effects of the established church!' And then, whilst admitting the notorious delay of the first, and by far the most important measure in the Upper House, with no other palpable reason for it than the *sic volo, sic jubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas* of an oligarchy all dominant there, he shortly turns round to Sir Robert Inglis, with an account of what he has done to aggrandize an already opulent establishment; adding, moreover, that in the next session, he will feel ready to take by the hand some plan of church extension, such as will no doubt prove agreeable to that virtuous, but most narrow-minded senator, the member for the University of Oxford.

But wretched as may have been the domestic legislation proposed to parliament by the cabinet, we must look abroad, as well as at home, and shortly examine its foreign policy. England, in fact, exists for the whole civilized world, as well as for herself. France may sometimes bring greater influences to bear upon mere continental Europe, but Great Britain holds in her hand, under Divine Providence, the destinies of half the globe. What we mean is, that her conduct, as a mighty maritime and colonial power, must always tell for weal or woe, in the current state of circumstances, upon the millions of our fellow creatures, from Malta and Gibraltar to Formosa and Canton, as also from Canada and Labrador to New Zealand and Australia. The *Times* may rave as it pleases; but from 1830 to 1840, the bright star of our national influence culminated in the social firmament. Now Lord Stanley, of whom Tacitus would say in one of his terse, but emphatic descriptions, *nec sermonibus temperabat, immodicus linguâ, et obsequii insolens*, had dared to assert, that 'the late government had created for himself and colleagues such foreign embarrassments, both political and commercial, that they found themselves beset with difficulties in every part of the world!' To which unceremonious charge Lord Palmerston thus rejoins:—

'The attack of the noble lord upon us is not only an instance of want of information, but of the grossest ingratitude. I had indeed hoped, that in respect to foreign affairs, it would be admitted that we had only left facilities to our successors. (A laugh from the ministerial benches.) What! do you laugh at that? Why you have been absolutely living upon our leavings. You have been subsisting on the broken victuals left upon our table. Gentlemen opposite remind me

of nothing more than a pack of people who have made a forcible entry into a dwelling-house, and sat down to carouse upon the leavings in the larder. Hardly a month, nay, hardly a week has passed since the beginning of the session, without ministers bringing in some measure, which they have acknowledged was proposed by their predecessors, but which they considered to be very worthy of being adopted by this house. This has been the case, not only with respect to the principles of measures, but even with respect to details. The noble lord, the member for North Lancashire, found in the larder an article which he once thought very injurious, but which, when he came to taste, he ascertained to be wholesome food. I allude to the clause about Hill Coolies in the Colonial Passengers Bill. Then again, the right honourable vice-president of the Board of Trade used to fancy, when he saw it at a distance, that bonded corn was a bad thing, very unpleasant and pernicious; but when he came into office and had a better opportunity of observing the article, he gulped it down like a man, and found it to be most agreeable! (Immense laughter.) I repeat it, that as regards foreign affairs, it really did astonish me, and does still, that honourable gentlemen on the other side should attempt to represent that we left them embarrassments. The whole of the royal speech, with a single exception,—the birth of the Prince of Wales,—was a record of what had been done by their predecessors, and that too, although the notice of foreign affairs occupies one half of the document. It contained only expressions of satisfaction as to what had passed, and happy anticipations of what might be regarded as the future!

Now these anticipations may be classified under the four heads of Continental, Syrian, Indian, and American policy; with respect to all which, a few plain facts will go further than volumes of words in the minds of sensible observers.

1. *Continental policy.* When the whigs and radicals abandoned office, they left the temple of Janus shut, as regarded all our European neighbours. All the great powers of the world were at peace with us, without an iota of thanks being due to conservatism, which would so gladly have blown up a war with France, or Russia, or the United States, about Antwerp, a chapel in Cuba, a port or hospital in Minorca, a pilot taken out of a ship in the Gulf of Mexico, an impertinence in the Isle of Bourbon, or the establishment of a blockade at Buenos Ayres. With what diligence, in every one of these instances, did conservative patriotism, and the infernalism of its corrupted press, blow the coals of a quarrel, which might in its consequences have shed blood like water from St. Petersburg to Lisbon, and extinguished every spark of liberty, both at Paris and Madrid. Who were the friends of Don Carlos in Spain, prompt and eloquent to denounce our gallant countrymen under Sir De Lacy Evans, and thwart the return of the Peninsula to order and prosperity? Lord Palmerston, we must admit, was enabled to avert the con-



flagration, and maintain European tranquillity, without any derogation of national character. Nor was this all. Great Britain, on several most important occasions, acted as general mediatrix, towards France and the United States, between whom disputes of the gravest character had been fomented. She took fair advantage of this nobly earned influence, both as regarded herself and others. The Reform ministries concluded no less than fourteen treaties between ourselves and foreign nations, for the promotion of our commercial advancement; those with Austria and Turkey, more particularly, which have secured to us fresh channels of trade with the Danube, the Black Sea, and the Adriatic. The declared value of our exports in 1831 was 37,000,000*l.*, to all the various countries of the world. It rose gradually and annually to 38,000,000*l.*, 39,000,000*l.*, 41,000,000*l.*, 47,000,000*l.*, 53,000,000*l.*, and then fluctuating to 50,000,000*l.*, 53,000,000*l.* again, and to 102,000,000*l.* for the two years 1840 and 1841, as being exactly equal and taken together. Therefore, in the ten years of reform, from 1831 to 1841, the value of our exports augmented from 37,000,000*l.* to 51,000,000*l.*, presenting an increase of no less than 14,000,000*l.* in amount, the consequence of our foreign commercial policy! With regard, moreover, to France, it is well known that serious disputes, attended with collision, had continued almost ever since the treaty of Vienna, touching the right of fishing between Jersey and Normandy. This question was at length settled last year. A convention was arranged, with a proper definition of boundaries, so as to prevent in future these dangerous misunderstandings, just as Lord Melbourne retired. One point alone had been left open. The French commissioner was very anxious to obtain permission for fishing boats from his country to anchor and station themselves within three miles of our sea coasts, in order that they might be prepared to start and pursue their occupation inside the allowed limits. It was discovered that his real motive was, that the French fishery on the shores of England might become a nursery of seamen, with a view to manning the French navy. Lord Palmerston most wisely and justly demurred to that concession, for obvious reasons, in which our future maritime ascendancy may be involved; and whilst battling the question, had to retire from the Foreign Office. Now there is strong reason for supposing that the tories have given way to M. Guizot in this apparently trifling, but really most important matter. Specious pretences to amity between the two tory administrations at Paris and in London, are supposed (we would yet hope erroneously) to have dusted the eyes of Lord Aberdeen, so willing are conservative statesmen to indulge any royal predilections, when strengthened or supported by political sym-

thies and affinities. With regard also to treaties on the slave trade, it ought to be known that there were but ten when the liberals came into office. They concluded fifteen additional ones, most of them containing stipulations not found in former compacts. Four of these were laid upon the table of the House of Commons by the hands of the tories themselves, besides five commercial, and two political ones, about all of which it literally could be remarked, that their predecessors had laboured, but that they had entered into their labours. So truly might even the ill temper of Lord Stanley have allowed the illustration of *Sic vos non vobis*, in the 'facilities' rather than the 'embarrassments,' which had fallen to his share, since Sir Robert Peel and his followers invaded the citadels of Downing-street.

We may fairly refer to the agreement between Lord Palmerston and the minister of Denmark, respecting an abatement of the Sound duties, as compared with the respective conduct of the liberals and tories towards the King of Hanover, touching the Stade dues, to illustrate the inherent tendencies of the Melbourne and Peel administrations. The treaties of Christianstadt, in 1645 and 1701, secured for the Danish crown such unreasonable advantages, that for generations they were disputed, and even resisted, whenever an opportunity offered of doing so with impunity. At length Denmark consented to a convention at Elsinour, with England, through the reiterated exertions of our liberal government, under which the tolls of the Sound are to be regulated upon the terms of ancient instead of modern treaties, and are in no case to exceed one per cent. upon the value of the cargo. Looking upon this narrow strait as the great water-gate of the Baltic, the entire commercial world are under no slight obligations to Great Britain for the settlement of an impost, so long a fruitful source of trouble and negotiation. And now what is the state of the case between ourselves and Hanover, touching a not dissimilar affair? Ernest, who receives from this country a pension of 21,000*l.* annually, also levies upon all vessels passing up the Elbe, far higher rates than can be claimed under any existing recognised compact; and these rates are not only larger in amount than they ought to be, but are aggravated through 'the most vexatious diversity and capricious uncertainty.' Lord Palmerston contended, and proved, that the sovereign of the Stade dues is not entitled to more than one-sixteenth per cent. upon the value of commodities; and Hanover consented, as Denmark had previously done, to appoint a commissioner to meet one to be sent from this country. His lordship must now be permitted to tell his own tale—

'We thought that the government of Hanover, like that of Denmark, would have instructed its commissioner to revise the tariff, in order to

make it conform with the provisions of ancient treaties; but we found that he was instructed to do no such thing, but to make a new Tariff, neither founded upon the old treaty of 1692, nor upon the existing Tariff. That at once brought the matter to a stand, and we urged the Hanoverian government to enter into a negotiation upon the only basis we could admit; and we gave it fairly to understand, that we would not allow it to levy those exorbitant duties which it had hitherto exacted. What have her Majesty's present ministers done upon that question? What do they mean to do? I will tell them what I think, and what I am informed, they mean to do. I believe *they are about to yield to Hanover what that government is not entitled to exact.* I believe they have actually offered to allow the Hanoverian government twice as much as it has by treaty a right to claim. If that be so, the course we pursued with regard to Denmark is likely to be a source of considerable embarrassment to them. If they mean to sacrifice the rights of Englishmen out of deference to, or *personal regard for the sovereign of Hanover, I do say, that they will find considerable embarrassment arising out of our former acts;* and I trust that we shall be able to give them still further and more effectual embarrassment, when they are hereafter called upon to defend their measures. (Cheers from all sides.) If the negotiations have ended in such an arrangement, it will be a great misfortune, and an abandonment of duty on the part of those who are specially bound to protect British interests, and extend British commerce.'

Sir Robert, as might naturally have been expected, fired up at this attack, pouring forth a flood of anti-Hanoverian patriotism, with precisely that temper which a man falls into when the cap is put indisputably on the right head. That, in this instance, it fitted to a nicety, cannot now be denied. The premier attempted to crush his assailant, by reading a document found in the foreign office, to the effect that Lord Palmerston had tried to get rid of the Stade Dues altogether, by some pecuniary arrangement. But the conclusion of the whole question came precisely to what the noble orator had asserted; namely, that with regard to these infamous exactions, made upon our commerce by a royal pensioner of our own, the whigs had resisted them to the last hour of their official existence, whilst their successors had surrendered the whole ground in dispute to the mercy of his electoral majesty. Our readers have only to look on this picture, and on that, to learn the true tendencies of conservative continental policy. We are ready to stand or fall by the comparison. Spain, Naples, Portugal, and the Brazils, will one and all tell a similar story.

2. So again with respect to Syria, or what is now generally termed the Eastern Question. The royal speech in February mentioned, with great congratulation, that the Five Powers had settled all their matters with his highness the Sultan, for opening the Dardanelles and Bosphorus. Our new administration here



again verified what the late secretary for foreign affairs endeavoured to bring home to their consciences, that they were banqueting upon 'the broken victuals,' which their predecessors had left them on the table. Sir Robert Peel usurped no little credit for this convention, describing it from the mouth of her Majesty, 'as having for its object the security of the Turkish empire, and the maintenance of general tranquillity.' That was just admitting, in other words, that the liberal cabinet had succeeded in steadying the balance of European power; for neither the right honourable baronet, nor Lord Aberdeen, had any more to do with the credit of the treaty, than the monkey had a right to the roasted chesnut, which, with the paw of the cat he had contrived to extract from the fire. Who, let us ask, were the genuine negotiators in the Levantine dilemma? Whose policy won the laurels at Acre, and set bounds to the ambition of Mehemet Ali; besides securing the Nile, Suez, and Aden, as so many connected links in our now rapid communications with India? Our exports to Turkey, Syria, and Palestine, in 1831, were 838,000*l.*, in 1841, they were 1,461,000*l.*; being almost doubled through the operations of an anti-restrictive administration; although that administration was thwarted, and embarrassed at every turn, by the scions of aristocratic diplomacy, which swarm along the Mediterranean shores, like the foul and hungry harpies of ancient mythology. About the same period, and altogether without any conservative aid, diplomatic intercourse revived between Great Britain and Persia. The Shah, some months before, had insulted an English mission, and proceeded to conquer, as an agent of Russia, the northern provinces of Affghanistan. We succeeded in both points. Reparation was made by the court of Teheraun, and the siege of Herat was abandoned. It is clear, from the admissions of Sir Robert Peel himself, which are now on record, that the restoration of amicable intercourse in these quarters has proved exceedingly beneficial to our Asiatic influence, and our commercial welfare. Lord Melbourne's government managed to conclude a compact with Persia, on terms which place our commerce with that country upon the footing of the most favoured nations. Our present premier condescended to be merry 'about appointing a consul here, and patching up a treaty there;' but meanwhile, the fact stares us in the face, that from Constantinople to Bagdad, and from Cairo to Trebizond, liberal diplomacy lays itself out to enlarge the demand for our manufactures. Conservative oriental policy, on the other hand, throws all such matters into the back ground. To form a field of patronage for the younger sons of the nobility is the main point; to baffle and embarrass popular measures is the second; and just so far to befriend the vulgar interests of trade,

that tories shall not be openly put to shame in the House of Commons, is the third. What are the results of all the marvels, which were to have astonished the world, through the embassy of Sir Stratford Canning? Let it be borne in mind, that at all events, under Lord Ponsonby, England possessed influence at Stamboul. Now it would appear as though she can barely obtain an audience at the Sublime Porte; nor even, after she has procured it, are the consequences aught else than disappointment and mortification. Russia sits quietly behind the curtain, and plays the part of an ever-active Penelope towards the most skilfully-wrought web of conservative policy.

3. But to proceed a step further, let us only catch a glimpse if we can of India and China. The object of Sir John Cam Hobhouse, as the liberal President of the Board of Control, was doubtless twofold; to counteract Russian intrigues, and open the Indus to our merchants. The tories *in parliament* laughed heartily at both these matters, until Lord Palmerston informed them, that to treat such subjects in any other way than as being of great importance, was the habit *out of parliament* of no rational man, 'who possessed any other attribute, that distinguishes human beings, except laughter.' Our recent disasters in Affghanistan had nothing to do with the original plan, or with the adaptation of the means to an end. Of that plan, in its moral aspects, it is not our province at present to speak. Were we to do so, our language would be strongly condemnatory; for we believe the contest now raging to the north-west of the Indus to be as vicious in principle as it is of questionable expediency. The present cabinet, however, cannot avail themselves of this ground of objection, and their tactics must consequently be judged by a much lower standard. In the end contemplated, Lord Keane succeeded, to the dismay of thoughtless scoffers, 'who, till they read the dispatches, had never heard of Cabul or Candahar, nor could have told, whether Ghiznee was an inland fortification, or a sea-port town?' Our losses subsequently arose from the gross neglect of ordinary precautions. The lesson taught us may be most beneficial in future, both to the victors and the vanquished. Generals Sale and Pollock were engaged in repairing what had been amiss, and in re-erecting more permanently than ever, our barriers of empire in the north-west of India, and our influence thereby in Central Asia. The Peel administration, feeling that no real blame could attach to Lord Auckland, courteously requested him to remain at Calcutta; but on his declining to do so, dispatched Lord Ellenborough to mend, what conservatism now most inconsistently says, 'the Earl of Auckland had marred!' Who was not disgusted at the adulation with which this new Prætorian prefect of

the East was wafted from his native island? The Baroness de Stäel used to say of this self-same most conceited minister, 'that the very sight of him was enough to produce a revolution!' However, for the Hoogly he sailed, full of the mighty plans whereby he was to prop up our tottering empire in Hindostan. Their main feature was evidently to be moderation; but his lordship, unhappily, was no Fabius Maximus, but rather like another of that name, Fabius Valens, an officer of more degenerate days: *Dum media sequitur, nec ausus est satis, nec providit!* His error was as great and fatal as that of Sir George Barlow. Lord Palmerston extracted from the premier the admission, that the Governor-General had, in reality, ordered the evacuation, of the countries westward of the Indus. Sir Robert Peel, however, had been previously compelled, through the force of public opinion, to pledge himself to a bolder plan, and should success crown the measures which have been adopted, Sir John Cam Hobhouse, and not Lord Ellenborough, or Sir Robert Peel, will be considered in history as entitled to the honour of having secured the free navigation of the Indus. British manufactures may, at a future day, be poured through it into those regions which Alexander conquered; and we may be permitted again and again perhaps to repeat, that unless our trade and commerce can be enlarged, we may as well write at once Ichabod upon all our most precious institutions. They are gone for ever, if the grasp of aristocratic monopoly be not loosened from the throat of this nation, and our colossal colonies. Our oligarchy is the Old Man of the Sea, in the Arabian travels of Sindbad the Sailor! Conservatism is the monster's near relation and best friend; liberalism is his mortal foe! Now the trade with India and China amounted, in declared value, to 3,377,000*l.* in 1830; in 1840, it had risen to no less than 6,547,000*l.* per annum; owing chiefly, we presume, to the new Charter granted under the auspices of Earl Grey. We say, let that document be contrasted with the previous one, conceded by Lord Castlereagh, and then we shall have some idea how Tories and Liberals respectively would fain promote British and European interests generally throughout the oriental world. The close of Lord Palmerston's address should not here be omitted; it was loudly cheered throughout.

'As to foreign affairs, I look with considerable apprehension and fear to a government acting upon a system of timidity, apathy, and compromise. Whether it be in reference to the King of Hanover, or to the French Fishery Commissioners, or to the United States, or to Achbar Khan, they seem to be prepared to act on principles of submission; principles which I know will be as fatal to the best interests of the country, as they are inconsistent with, and derogatory to our



honour. If there be an opposition willing to support the government, heartily and effectually, whenever it shall proceed to the improvement of our internal system, it is also an opposition prepared to watch jealously all those symptoms of a course of proceeding which will affect the stability and honour of this country. Although we are about to enter upon a long interval, during which all the affairs of the country, and more particularly the foreign affairs, are left to the discretion of government, let them not think, because they come down next session, and tell us that they have done something, however badly it may have been done, that we will accept it. Let them be sure, that if they lower the position of this country; if they sacrifice the interests which have been maintained, by the restless activity and perpetual meddling, as they term it, of which we have been accused; if they let opportunities pass,—and when events once get the start, there is never any possibility of catching them—if they have not well considered the truth, that by taking a stand upon our rights, we shall best preserve ourselves from improper demands; if they do not act upon the principle that England will ask nothing which is unjust, of any country, and will not grant to any other that which she would deem it an injustice herself to demand; if they do not act upon the principle, that we will encroach upon none, and permit none to encroach upon us; let them be sure that they will create insurmountable difficulties for themselves, and in the end inflict irretrievable injuries on the country.'

4. These remarks of Lord Palmerston will be found especially applicable to what is going forward in America; and for that reason indeed, as well as for their intrinsic soundness, we have transcribed them, as an introduction to our own. The Boundary Question grew up with the treaty of 1783; from which year, with very slight intermission, toryism held the helm of affairs down to 1830, a period little short of half a century. From twelvemonth to twelvemonth nothing effectual was done; nor would anything have been done now, had not liberalism laid such trains for an ultimate arrangement, that some such embassy as that of Lord Ashburton could no longer be postponed. After the peace of Ghent, made in 1812, by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, the whole affair was referred to the King of the Netherlands, who is reported, in a fit of Dutch sulkiness, to have conceived offence at both parties; and so, sagaciously taking into his royal hands a ruler, he drew a line 'over the mountains and over the moors,' which apportioned into something like equal divisions, one slice of the territory to Great Britain, and the other to the United States. The latter, on the look out for better terms, rejected such an arbitration, although we were disposed to accede to it. England did not then know the merits of her own case; for the words of the treaty were that 'from a line drawn due north, you are to draw a line westward, to end in the source of the Connecticut river;' which expressions, through disgraceful

ignorance, were supposed to be incompatible with the natural features of the country. Our government then offered again to share the territory, and make the river St. John the boundary; which liberal offer was also refused. It then occurred to the whigs to do that which, strange to say, no previous cabinet ever dreamed of doing—namely, to send out an exploratory commission. Messrs. Mudge and Featherstonagh, of whom it consisted, then ascertained that the limit we claimed was perfectly consistent with both the terms of the treaty, and the entire face of the province. A second commission, sent out for the purpose of examining the American line, to ascertain whether that might happen to fulfil the same conditions, recently returned home, with a report strongly corroborative of the first, by demonstrating that the Yankees were altogether wrong, and ourselves altogether right. These two reports, as Lord Palmerston observes, ought materially to have accelerated a righteous and final adjustment. His lordship, however, intimated, upon the authority of New York and Pennsylvania journals, that we were about to be greatly overreached in the bargain. Of this our readers will probably be able to form their own conclusions, before these sheets come under their eye: as also with regard to the invasion of Maine, the cases of the *Creole* and the *Caroline*, and the right of search generally. Now there can be but one sentiment, throughout the three kingdoms, that peace upon terms not positively dishonourable, is almost worth any price that can be paid for it; whilst, at the same time, our ablest jurisconsults and best statesmen have always held, that in making with any government an arrangement which wears the character of being the last that can be entered into, it may be correct to submit to enormous sacrifices. But when we foresee that question after question must arise; that each surrender will be followed by a further demand, when the next occasion comes,—the relief from real difficulty is then only for a moment, and is certain to involve us in fresh, and perhaps greater embarrassments, as the stream of events rolls on. We heartily wish that far different indeed may be the termination of the new American treaty. Yet, looking at the United States, as an immense slave-holding country; calling to mind the bitterness of their prejudices, with respect to colour, from New Orleans up to Penobscot itself; reflecting upon certain doctrines lately broached as to the repudiation of pecuniary obligations; perceiving the extreme weakness of the American executive in avoiding multifarious causes of collision on its almost boundless frontiers and seaboard; having known, moreover, the utter hollowness of conservatism in the anti-slavery struggle, as contrasted with the sincerity and energy of liberalism in befriending the negro; we repeat it, that reviewing calmly all these matters,

we cannot help sympathizing cordially with the noble member for Tiverton, and conceiving that even the ark of Christian philanthropy may be in no inconsiderable peril. At all events, we feel satisfied that a retrospect of our late foreign policy reflects neither honour on our tory ministry, nor credit upon the besotted majority which maintains it so unfortunately in power.

But if there be ground for triumph, neither in their domestic legislation, nor their foreign policy, what shall we say to their general conduct? They christened their predecessors as the 'shabby administration;' but where, we would inquire, are the vestiges of disinterestedness or generosity in Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues? Take the instance of Lord Ashley's most humane measure, for alleviating the crushing labours of children and young persons in our coal-mines. Pledges were given on the part of government, that its assistance should be honestly afforded; whereupon, a large load of praise and popularity, which, as affairs turned out, it little deserved, fell at once to its share. In the House of Lords, however, several noble colliers chose to imagine that their pecuniary interests might be affected by such political benevolence. Even the Duke of Wellington, as it struck our minds, and that with deep regret, betrayed the iciness and selfishness of old age, as though power, and honours, and grey hairs, had 'frozen the genial current of his soul.' Their lordships extracted from the bill nearly nineteen-twentieths of its pith and marrow; so that, although the ministerial promises were perhaps kept, and barely and meagrely kept to the ear, to the eye and in the letter they became almost emptiness itself, for all practical purposes! Crooked operatives, buried in coal-pits during more than a moiety of their existence, were beneath the regard of those who could enhance the prices of the prime necessities of life, in order to reap harvests of a thousand sovereigns from corn farms, where seven hundred would be an ample rental. Does Sir James Graham, who first originated the soubriquet just mentioned, call such conduct shabby, or honourable? Or, mark the behaviour of the premier himself, in the very act of proroguing parliament. Well knowing the precise moment at which the Usher of the Black Rod would appear, he postponed rising in the house, until he felt certain that his address must extend to the last seconds of the session. This gave him the opportunity of saying the last word, of leaving, as he fancied, the last impression in his own favour; of casting a slur over the Anti-Corn-Law League, which Mr. Villiers would have disposed of in five minutes, could but that brief interval of justice have been allowed him. But it could not, for the official apparition tapped at the door, and waved his wand; the Speaker rose and proceeded to the bar of the Upper House; the first lord of the



treasury had gained what he wanted; and the blight of his insinuations would remain, like mildew, where he intended they should fall, for at least some days. Last, as well as first impressions, may go for a good deal; but we would ask the eloquent representative for Stockport, whether such a proceeding was shabby or honourable? This nickname, therefore, after a long aerial voyage from the mouth of the member for Dorchester, at length returns, and settles upon his own forehead, and that of his coadjutors! Nor will he ever rid himself or them of it, even after he has been long gathered to his fathers. Posterity will pronounce it through the old halls of Netherby; that there once lived in them a lofty, haughty, senator—the most flaming radical of his time, for a certain number of months and years; but who, in deserting his old friends, and heaping upon them odium and opprobrium, was deemed so thoroughly shabby, that those, with whom he finally wormed himself once more into office, became, and were justly called *shabby* also! The tongue of one man may taint an age; *behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth!* Sir James must evidently have often uttered more than his principal wished; witness his fond doctrines about constabulary power. Such sparks of folly as these seem almost to have a natural affinity with gunpowder; but thus it is, the lips of violence and oppression open, and the mischief is done. Sir Robert Peel, in his insinuations about machinery; the hot-headed member for Knaresborough, in his assault upon the manufacturers; the frequent intemperance of Lord Stanley, although for an interval he seemed silence itself, have accumulated more materials for future troubles, than a multitude of bad laws. For the sake of producing effect in debate, some persons are willing to run any hazards. Lord Palmerston tells a story of an eminent foreign minister, who was giving instructions to an agent touching the acts of another government, in the middle of the last century. The agent venturing to observe, that the language he was ordered to hold, appeared at variance with facts, received for reply, ‘Oh! what in the world does it signify; never mind that—it is a very good thing to say, and mind that you say it!’ We agree with the noble lord, that in a very peculiar sense, the minister so delivering himself might have made a good off-hand debater.

Another charge perpetually made against their predecessors, by the present cabinet was, that they were no men of business. Their talents for talking, as they were scornfully described, might pass muster; but for the diurnal details of dry, practical, official duty, there was neither heart nor ability. Here again, public opinion makes toryism a present of its own accusation; as, for instance, in the entire business of the forged Exchequer Bills. The fraud occurred, we admit, under the presidency of

Lord Monteagle, acting out the antiquated customs, and wooden tallies of the good old times. Wherever improvements had been introduced, so imperfectly were these managed, or so successfully were they counteracted by the rottenness of toryism, not as yet exorcised from the Exchequer, that it was like sewing a piece of new cloth upon an old garment. The rent became worse; and an enormous evil ensued. But the remedy, we were assured, about to be administered by the practised hands of the conservative physician, would set everything into order presently. Yet can any affair have been more blundering and incomplete than the proposed settlement of Mr. Goulbourn? Are not nine people out of ten groaning and wailing at the tediousness of the whole investigation? Has not the minimum of justice been compounded with the maximum of inconvenience? Or let us glance at the misery and robbery inflicted upon the humbler classes, by calling in suddenly, and we must say most carelessly, the gold coinage. Whatever men of business the old officials may have been, the new ones understand giving all possible trouble, and tumbling headlong into all conceivable mistakes, to perfection. The abominable Corn Law was checked in its operation for a week or fortnight, by an oversight of these new and able men of business; able, we mean, in their own way,—as arch a set of bunglers as the Exchange, and forum, and senate, and metropolis, ever saw! In collecting the Income Tax, errors will have to be reckoned by millions. The Tariff, which came under discussion for no less than sixteen nights successively, had to be followed by a Supplemental Act. With regard to the attacks upon the Queen, where were the senses of seeing or hearing in the heads of these incomparable men of business? The ministry had premonitions afforded them on a Sunday, that her Majesty would be shot at on the Monday. A young man, cognizant of such an expressed intention, could hardly get at Sir James Graham; and at Windsor, the necessary interview with an officer of the palace was delayed, because the latter had sat down to his dinner. Men of business, indeed! We appeal to those gentlemen who have been at the labour and expense of procuring audiences, upon commercial matters, with these incomparable men of business. Did they, or their predecessors, display the most practical acquaintance with trade and manufactures? Did they, or their predecessors, best preserve their tempers; exhibit the deepest sympathy with national suffering; sneer at statistical or arithmetical statements as 'oratorical displays,' or manifest themselves as being able to throw a masterly survey over what might happen to be laid before them? Or with respect to election committees, and the successful efforts of Mr. Roebuck to unearth a system of iniquity, which must henceforward become

part of our parliamentary records and archives; who were the genuine men of business? The premier oscillated, like the pendulum of a clock, now on this side, now on that, apparently to get rid of inconvenient moments, during which, transitory popularity was to be snatched from the radicals, without giving more than a certain tolerable amount of offence to the conservatives. Meanwhile, another Bribery Bill has been added to the anomalies of our legislation; as though the growing cancer of the constitution could be charmed away with quackeries no better than Morrison's Pills, or Ching's Worm Lozenges! The ballot must operate as the real knife of excision; if, indeed, that remedy can be brought to bear before an impending dissolution of the patient.

Now, what, after all,—to revert to that goal from whence we started,—is the actual state of affairs? An abundant harvest may, through the bountiful mercy of Providence, postpone the catastrophe; but have our sapient legislators, in the remotest degree, struck at the root of the evil, or even attempted it? Why, these incomparable men of business, the present conservative cabinet, dispersed their own parliament at the commencement of an insurrection. The news from Manchester appeared in the papers of that very morning upon which her Majesty was compelled by her advisers to declare the session terminated. And so men went their several ways, after warnings had been given in vain, and their realization was already begun in the destruction of order in Lancashire, and of property in the Potteries. Even whilst bayonets were gleaming in the streets of Preston, Lord Stanley and Major Graham were reported in the public journals as having bagged larger quantities of grouse upon the Moors than had been in their power for several seasons before. Alas! for both conservatism and whiggery. Can we wonder that chartism is gaining ground? that it polled at Ipswich four hundred votes, at Southampton five hundred, at Nottingham eighteen hundred, all within the last few weeks? Have our operatives returned to work in good or ill humour? Is their organization less or more powerful, from the partially effective and frightfully extended movements just recently made? It is a most melancholy fact, that chasms are opening in every direction between the upper and lower classes of society; that conservatism has succeeded in engendering all manner of animosities betwixt operatives and their employers; that the object in doing so has been to prevent an union between the two divisions of the industrial masses against the provision laws; and that if the entire course of events does not alter shortly, revolution will be thundering at our gates. It is our honest conviction that matters will have to be worse before they are better. The cellars of our



social fabric, if we may so express ourselves, are night and day getting fuller of the most explosive materials. Our labourers want to have a rate of wages settled by legislation, which to those who can count ten upon their fingers, is a self-evident absurdity. Our manufacturers and capitalists only require to be let alone, which, although proved to be the essence of secular wisdom, an aristocracy will never, until it be forced, allow. This last section of society, consisting of magnates and all kinds of monopolists, wish that high price of corn and meat secured to the produce of their soils, which will leave them in the undisturbed possession of their war rental; and albeit this is demonstrated to be one of the most palpable pieces of injustice under the sun, they have succeeded in retaining it so long, that they will throw the country into convulsions, rather than disgorge. Some are even vain enough to fancy that their usurpation, from its protracted existence, may assume the character of a vested right. We talk about educating the lower orders; and most true it is that they stand in need of it: but who shall educate the upper classes? Skill and perseverance may cultivate the slopes of the mountain; yet who can melt the gathered 'winters of a thousand years,' or dissolve those glaciers of prejudice and cold hard-hearted ignorance, which come down upon the valleys of industry, from the proud snow-clad summits of oligarchy and opulence, with a pressure destructive to civilization? Poverty, and even pauperism, will listen to the voice of instruction, if its matter be sound, and its manners conciliatory. But those who have drank deeply from the fountains of feudalism, from that poisonous stream flowing down the channels of time since the reign of Charlemagne; who conceive the world made for them, and not themselves for the world; whose very cradles were rocked within the gilded pale of privilege and subserviency; who have grown up, fattened with the spoils of oppression, and the marrow of their humbler fellow-men; such, we sincerely believe, will be slow beyond description to learn: *ita formatis auribus, ut aspera quæ utilia, nec quidquam nisi jucundum et læsurum acciperent.* Now, until these come to be themselves taught, how can we hope or expect that they, holding the reins in their hands, will teach others; ay, or even permit them to acquire knowledge, wherever they can hinder it, from other masters? When the middle classes have ever kindly endeavoured to instruct the lower ones, for their own sake, conservatism hurries directly to the rescue. It either assures the children, and their parents or guardians, that the establishment alone has a right to teach; or where religion is not to be mentioned for a moment, it will then pet, and stroke, and even hire Chartism to bark at and

devour honest men ; although nothing short of Bæotian dullness can prevent itself from perceiving, that when Republicanism shall have ruined the millocrat—patrimonial estates, baronial residences, ecclesiastical patronage, and hereditary immunities, will cease to be worth an hour's purchase !

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